

## **Expert Report of Itamar Marcus, Director of Palestinian Media Watch**

### **Qualifications**

I am the founder and Director of Palestinian Media Watch (PMW). PMW was founded in 1996. It is a research institute that studies Palestinian society, political activities and ideology, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, through the monitoring of activities, publications, speeches, culture, sports, education and communications made or transmitted by Palestinian leaders and by and through PA governmental organizations or structures they control, as they are reported in the media, schoolbooks, internet, etc.

Sources include newspapers; television; radio; speeches, statements, reports, and announcements from government and society leaders and governmental institutions; and the internet. All materials are studied in their original Arabic. In these sources, PMW identifies ideologies, political processes and tactics, and social trends in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip with special focus on Israeli-Palestinian relations, particularly the peace process. PMW documents and publishes examples and analyses of its findings in written reports and videos.

As founder and Director, I monitor, study, and am responsible for the activities, analyses, and publications of PMW. PMW employs Arabic-language researchers who read the 3 daily newspapers in the Palestinian Authority, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, *Al-Ayyam*, and *Al-Quds*. Additionally, PMW staff records and views television channels produced and broadcasted in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including Palestinian Authority Television (PA TV), PA Palestine Live TV, and Al-Aqsa TV of Hamas. Materials are read and recorded based on a list of approximately 30 topics, including the peace process, demonization, women's issues, children, martyrs and martyrdom, and violence. All original written sources are cut out from original sources and saved. All television sources are recorded and saved. Materials of particular significance are released to the public in short reports, press releases, editorials, newspaper articles, special reports, and at press conferences.

We use these materials to analyze, interpret, and report on political and social trends, violence, glorification of terror, and more as indicators of Palestinian policy and tactics towards achieving political goals.

PMW has presented its findings before members of United States Congress; members of Parliament in numerous countries, including the European Union, United Kingdom, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Canada, Italy, Germany, and Australia; and at universities and conferences worldwide.

I regularly give interviews to Israeli and foreign media, including all of the major television and radio channels in Israel and leading foreign news outlets, including BBC, CNN and Fox News, Italian TV, Russian TV, German TV, Norwegian TV and others. I have also given interviews for documentary films about Palestinian society and Islamic issues.

Some of the political trends PMW has noticed and reported on include a report published on September 10, 2000, which opened with the words: "Palestinian Authority [PA] television broadcasting of violence and hate has reached unprecedented levels this summer and has created an atmosphere of the eve of outbreak of war." At the end of the month, the Palestinian Authority launched 5-years of violence known as the Intifada. In February 2006, PMW

published a bulletin with the title " Hamas Plans to Kidnap Israeli Soldiers for Prisoner Trade," which likewise was tragically accurate. A few months later Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit was kidnapped and held as a hostage until 2011.

PMW is respected internationally and many governments use PMW material as an indicator of ideology and goals of PA leaders. In February 2007, then Senator Hillary Clinton, in a joint press conference with PMW in the Senate building said: "It is my privilege once again to join Palestinian Media Watch for this press conference, and for the latest report that they have compiled about the Palestinian textbooks. Director Itamar Marcus, who has been a steadfast leader, has helped to deliver this message which we repeat again today - we must stop the propaganda to which Palestinian children are being exposed. That must be a priority for all people who care about children... I joined with Itamar at a Senate hearing, where I reiterated the importance of our country making it clear in every way - these children deserve an education that instills respect for life and peace instead of glorifying death and violence..." PMW published a report on June 16, 2004, entitled "Four Loopholes in US Anti-Terror Laws" documenting flaws in US law that enable recipients to support anti-American activities and promote terror. PMW wrote that six changes in US legislation would solve the problems and five of the six recommendations were accepted and passed the House of Representatives less than a month after the PMW report was published.

In addition to reviewing our archives of the PA media before, during, and since the intifada – terror campaign, in preparing my report, I also reviewed the documents listed below.

**Documents Produced by Plaintiffs:**

Bates P 1:1-979, Bates P 2:3-299, Bates P 3:1-50, Bates P 4:1-282, Bates P 5:1-156c  
Bates P 6:1-297, Bates P 7:1-172, Bates P 8:1-179, Bates P 9:1-2, Bates P 10:1-4

**Documents Produced by Defendants:**

Bates 04:493-494, Bates 4473-4513, Bates 6031-6034, Bates 6145, Bates 6363-6368,  
Bates 6761-6778, Bates 6827-6840, Bates 7183-7184, Bates 7290-7328, Bates 7731-7742  
Bates 7893-7898, Bates 8952-9046, Bates 9050-9638

**Education:**

1971-1974 BA in Political Science, City University of New York  
1977-1979 MA in Jewish Culture, New York University

**Professional Experience:**

1996 – present: Founder and Director of the non-profit research institute "Center for Media Research" (operating as "Palestinian Media Watch," PMW) in Jerusalem ([www.palwatch.org](http://www.palwatch.org)), which researches Palestinian society and leadership through monitoring, studying and analyzing open media and education sources. Inter alia, PMW documents the messages inculcated by the Palestinian Authority leadership amongst its population through all the communication infrastructures it controls: official Palestinian Authority media, other media sources and PA schoolbooks, the educational system, mosquesermons, and youth summer camps under its jurisdiction, as well as via cultural channels such as literature, art etc. The aim is to identify

peaceful and violent trends in Palestinian society and documenting Palestinian leadership messages and ideologies. My research focuses on documenting the existence or absence of peace education and includes documenting messages of non-recognition of Israel's existence and its right to exist; demonization of Israelis and Jews; and the development and modes of transmission of incitement to hatred, violence and murder as well as glorification of terrorists and their killings in Palestinian society. Especially important for my research is the degree of involvement of the PA and its leaders in leading, directing and promoting these trends through the structures they control.

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| 1999-2000 | Israel's representative in negotiations with the PA concerning prevention of incitement - member of the trilateral Israel-PA-US committee to prevent incitement, established within the framework of the Wye River Accords, signed in Washington D.C. on Oct. 23, 1998 by then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, then-PA and PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, and then-US President Bill Clinton. Further details in the Expert Opinion.  |
| 1997-2001 | Director of Research of the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (today known as IMPACT-SE – the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education), engaging in research of study curricula and schoolbooks in Middle Eastern countries and the education of children and youth in the region, with a focus on attitudes towards different religions, societies and cultures, attitudes towards democratic values, and attitudes towards the “other”. (See: <a href="http://www.impact-se.org">www.impact-se.org</a> ) |
| 1995-1996 | Advisor to Prof. Shimon Sheetrit, Minister of Religious Affairs in the government of PM Yitzhak Rabin  |

**Publications (partial list):**

In-depth reports published by PMW and CMIP, written in cooperation with the researchers of the respective institutes. These reports examined various aspects of Palestinian society, including education, media, etc., based on material appearing in the PA media and schoolbooks. (Some of these are available on PMW's website: [www.palwatch.org](http://www.palwatch.org).) Including:

- “Palestinian Authority glorification of terrorists and payment of salaries to terrorists and Dutch Funding” – December 2012
- “Funding of the PA's general budget by Holland and the international community supports continued Palestinian Authority promotion of hatred and violence” – December 2012



- "PMW's response to letter by Minister of State Alan Duncan to MP Robert Halfon, that rejected PMW's report that exposed Palestinian Authority's payment of salaries to terrorists with UK money" – October 2012
- "Palestinian Authority glorification of terrorists and paying salaries to terrorists with US money" – July, 2011
- "The PA during the Proximity Talks" – May-August 2010
- "From Terrorists to Role Models – the PA's Institutionalization of Incitement" – May 2010
- "Palestinians see Israel's release of terrorists as the driving force behind continued kidnappings" – Dec. 2009
- "Jerusalem under Palestinian assault" – May 2009
- "Most popular Arab-Israeli newspaper during Operation Cast Lead" – Feb. 2009
- Special study for committee to establish principles for negotiating prisoner releases (Nov. 2008)
- "Palestinian Authority Libel: Prisoners are used for Nazi-like medical experiments", July 2008
- "*Strengthening America's Enemies* - The ideological allies of a future Palestinian state", Oct. 2007
- "From nationalist battle to religious conflict: New 12<sup>th</sup> Grade Palestinian schoolbooks present a world without Israel" – Feb 2007
- "USAID funding of Palestinian university with terror branches in violation of US Law", March 5, 2007
- "'Ask for Death!' - The Indoctrination of Palestinian Children to Seek Death for Allah – Shahada", July 5, 2002
- A compendium of Palestinian Authority hatred of America: 1997 and 2001
- A compendium of Palestinian Authority hatred of America: Part 2: 2001 – Just prior to the attacks
- "Palestinian Media Incitement Since Wye", Feb. 1999

**Dozens of articles published in media in Israel and overseas (partial list):**

- "Did Israel kill Yasser Arafat? And if so, was it justified?" - *The Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 27, 2012
- "Let's stop pretending" - *The Jerusalem Post*, March 13, 2012
- "The Muslim Brotherhood's Patient Jihad" – *Jewish Ideas Daily*, July 25, 2012
- "The American congressional candidates were correct in criticizing the PA for promoting terror" – *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 18, 2011
- "HananAshrawi ignores glorification of terror", *The Hill*, July 13, 2010
- "Hillary Clinton's unfortunate mistake", *The Jerusalem Post*, March 24, 2010
- "Beyond Mere Hatred", *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 16, 2009
- "Will the US follow its laws and suspend funding to Abbas?", *The Jerusalem Post*, May 25, 2009
- "The Genocide Mechanism", *The Jerusalem Post*, Apr. 26, 2009
- "When Hatemongering is Common Currency", *The Ottawa Citizen*, April 24, 2009

- "Why is the West funding Mahmoud Abbas' hate TV?", *The Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 28, 2008
- "Palestinian hate education and its Jewish advocates", Feb. 25, 2007
- "What happens when you give in to blackmail", *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 28, 2006
- "How Fatah got religion and lost power", *The Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 12, 2006
- "Seducing children to martyrdom", *The Jerusalem Post*, July 4, 2006
- "How the PA makes suicide bombers", *The Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 17, 2006
- "Victims forever?" *The Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 14, 2005
- "The Proper Timing of Terror (Published as: "Saboteur and Shahid")", *The Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 2, 2005
- "The Palestinian Schoolbooks: Planting seeds of the next war", *The International Herald Tribune*, Dec. 24, 2004
- "The Incitement Yardstick", *The Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 21, 2004
- "Palestinian children in combat support roles: Behavior mirrors teachings in PA schoolbooks and popular culture", Oct. 17, 2004
- "Engineering civilian casualties", *The Jerusalem Post*, June 2, 2004
- "PA blames Israel for Palestinian child bombers", *National Post* (Canada), Apr. 8, 2004
- "Dangerous Misconception", *The Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 28, 2004
- "PA and Hamas Ideology Converge" (Published as: "Find the Differences"), *The Jerusalem Post*, Mar. 28, 2004
- "Aspiration not Desperation", *The Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 29, 2004
- "Palestinian kids have learned hate and death aspiration", *National Post* (Canada), Jan. 10, 2004
- "Pedagogy of Hate", *The Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 4, 2004
- "The PA's anti-US message", *The Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 26, 2003
- "Promoting Women Terrorists", *The Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 9, 2003
- "Teaching Israeli Arabs to Love only 'Palestine'", *The Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 12, 2003
- "Seven Minutes of Peace Promotion", *The Jerusalem Post*, July 18, 2003
- "Planting the seeds of the next war", *The Jerusalem Post*, June 29, 2003
- "Palestinian words since Aqaba - more telling than deeds", *The Jerusalem Post*, June 20, 2003
- "Islamic Law and Islamic Terror in Palestinian Authority Ideology", May 9, 2002
- "Lies, Libels and Historical Revisionism in the Palestinian Authority", *MakorRishon*, Feb. 22, 2001

**Findings, reports and bulletins published by PMW, under my direction, have been cited in hundreds of articles and reports in newspapers in Israel and abroad (partial list):**

- USA Today, Jan. 4, 2013
- World Tribune, Dec. 16, 2012
- The Daily Mail, Oct. 29, 2012
- The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 25, 2012
- The Weekly Standard, Sept. 28, 2012
- The Washington Post, Sept. 28, 2012
- The Australian (Online Newspaper), Sept. 11, 2012
- World Tribune, Aug. 28, 2012

- Haaretz, July 27, 2012
- Mail Online (Daily Mail), June 14, 2012
- Russia Today, June 13, 2012
- Ynet News, June 13, 2012
- The Washington Times, June 11, 2012
- Herald Sun, June 4, 2012
- Huffington Post - June 1, 2012
- Chicago Sun-Times, May 10, 2012
- PRI's The World, Feb. 3, 2012
- The New York Times, Jan. 23, 2012
- Reuters, Jan. 22, 2012
- Associated Press (AP), Jan. 22, 2012
- The New York Times, Dec. 20, 2011
- Maariv, Dec. 9, 2011
- The Washington Post, Sept. 27, 2011
- UK Daily Mail Online, Aug. 8, 2011
- Fox News, Aug. 4, 2011
- Haaretz, July 28, 2011
- Chicago Sun-Times, Mar. 14, 2011
- Israeli TV, Channel 1, Mar. 13, 2011
- Arutz 10, Feb. 9, 2011
- Spectator, Dec. 19, 2010
- The Washington Times, Dec. 8, 2010
- The Wall Street Journal, Sept. 28, 2010
- New York Daily News, July 14, 2010
- Chicago Sun-Times, July 6, 2010
- Huffington Post, June 20, 2010
- The Telegraph, June 11, 2010
- The Washington Times, June 2, 2010
- DanielPipes.org, May 3, 2010
- The New York Times, May 3, 2010
- The Washington Times, April 19, 2010
- The New York Times, March 22, 2010
- The Jerusalem Post, March 11, 2010
- Haaretz, Dec. 27, 2009
- Denver Post, Nov. 22, 2009
- Der Spiegel, Nov. 2, 2009
- Jyllandsposten (Denmark) July 3, 2009
- Nu – DET liberala NYHETSMAGASINET (Sweden), June 18, 2009
- The World (Världen), June 16, 2009
- The Washington Times, June 16, 2009
- KristeligtDagblad (Denmark), June 15, 2009
- Arab Media & Society, issue 8, Spring 2009;
- The Ottawa Citizen, Mar. 26, 2009
- The Washington Times, Mar. 7, 2008
- The Star-Telegram, Oct. 27, 2007

- The New Republic, Oct. 26, 2007
- The Washington Times, Sept. 5, 2007
- The Washington Post, Aug. 30, 2007
- Forbes.com Aug. 15, 2007
- The New York Times, July 17, 2007
- National Review, June 22, 2007
- New York Sun, Feb. 15, 2006;
- Jerusalem Report, July 11, 2005;
- Haaretz (Israel), July 5, 2005;
- Ma'ariv (Israel), July 1, 2005;
- Washington Times, May 23, 2005;
- New York Sun, Apr. 22, 2005;
- The Examiner (Washington), March 30, 2005;
- The Weekly Standard, Feb. 8, 2005;
- Washington Times, June 16, 2004;
- Boston Globe, Jan. 14, 2003;
- Sunday Times, Jan. 19, 2003;
- The Globe and Mail, Oct. 11, 2003;
- La Stampa, Jan. 13, 2003;
- Boston Globe, Jan. 14, 2003;
- Jungle World (Germany Weekly), Jan. 2003;
- New York Sun, Dec. 23, 2002;
- Los Angeles Times, Jul. 20, 2002;
- Jerusalem Post, Jan. 13, 2002;
- Washington Times, Apr. 27, 2002;
- Insight Magazine (Washington), Dec. 11, 2002;
- Boston Globe, Dec. 25, 2002;
- Jerusalem Report, July 2, 2001;
- The Sun (Baltimore), Aug. 5, 2000;
- Jerusalem Report, Dec. 21, 1998

**Additional publications (examples):**

- Book entitled "Deception – Betraying the peace process," December 2011
- Chapter entitled, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion in Palestinian Ideology" published by NY University Press (papers presented at a conference at Boston University, marking the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first publication of the "Protocols") 2012
- Chapter entitled, "Anti-Semitism among Palestinian Authority Academics" in "Academics Against Israel and the Jews", published by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Jerusalem, 2007;
- "In Their Own Words: Anti-Semitism and Racism as Policy in the Palestinian Authority" – study prepared for the Simon Wiesenthal Center ([www.wiesenthal.com](http://www.wiesenthal.com)) and



presented at the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban, South Africa 2001

- Thousands of bulletins in Hebrew and English – on average two or three per week – published by PMW 1997-2013, on subjects related to PMW research (some may be accessed on the PMW website). Including (partial list):
  - “EU-funded Palestinian NGO glorifies hijackings, terror, and hatred of Israel and the US”, Dec. 20, 2012
  - “ Hamas in video to Israelis: “We’ve missed the suicide attacks” - Pillar of Defense #4”, Nov. 18, 2012
  - “Lawyer for Corrie family: Nazi Germany’s founding was legal while Israel’s founding was theft”, Aug. 29, 2012
  - “PA children taught to hate Jews and Christians”, June 17, 2012
  - “Abbas honors terrorists”, Mar. 19, 2012
  - “PA TV glorifies violence: ‘Boom out loud, oh voice of the machine gun... Oh AK-47, make sounds of joy’”, Dec. 15, 2011
  - “Mother of 4 terrorist murderers chosen by the PA to launch statehood campaign”, Sept. 18, 2011
  - “PA summer camp sponsored by Fayyad names children’s groups after terrorists”, July 21, 2011
  - “Palestinian news agency misleads English language readers”, May 3, 2011
  - “New Palestinian conspiracy theories: Israel and US behind major crises in Arab world”, Jan. 12, 2011
  - “PA daily demonizes Israel as ‘a country whose aim is destruction and ruin of humanity’”, Dec. 28, 2010
  - “Jesus was a Palestinian-‘no one denies that,’ says PA TV”, Dec. 24, 2010
  - “Group that sings about destruction of Israel named national band by Abbas”, Nov. 28, 2010
  - “New PA libel: Israel tortures prisoners with hot irons and electric drills”, Nov. 1, 2010
  - “Mother of 4 terrorists serving 18 life sentences for murder honored by Palestinian Authority”, Sept. 1, 2010
  - “Palestinian child: Fatah conference taught youth to be future ‘combatants’ against Israel”, July 18, 2010
  - “Abbas on mastermind of Munich Olympics massacre: ‘A wonderful brother, companion, tough and stubborn, relentless fighter’”, July 6, 2010
  - “Song to violence and death at PLO cultural festival”, June 9, 2010
  - “PA to Israelis: Go to Europe and Ethiopia because Israel is “stolen” land”, May 11, 2010
  - “Abbas promotes terrorist killer of three Americans to major-general”, March 28, 2010
  - “PA historian and PLO official deny Israel’s history in the Land of Israel and accuse Israel of “stealing” Palestinian symbols”, Nov. 3, 2009
  - “PA and Hamas: Kidnapping Israeli soldiers key to freeing imprisoned terrorists”, Sept. 23, 2009
  - “Terrorists who killed 37 Israeli civilians applauded as heroes by Fatah conference delegates”, Aug. 5, 2009
  - “Palestinian cleric on PA TV (Fatah): ‘In all of Europe there weren’t 6 million Jews’”, July 21, 2009
  - “PA boasts of past terror attacks by security forces currently being trained by the US”, July 7, 2009



- "Fatah boasts about lynch murder of two Israeli soldiers in 2000", June 25, 2009
- " Hamas converts 46 ambulances to military vehicles, misusing humanitarian aid", June 8, 2009
- "PA continues to glorify terrorist murderers", Feb. 18, 2009
- "Saudi scholar on Hamas TV: Jews are the enemies of Allah and should be killed", Jan. 12, 2009
- " Hamas explains use of human shield: 'We desire death as you desire life'" [Feb. 29, 2008] Dec. 29, 2008"
- "PA TV (Fatah), video: There never has been a Jewish Temple - never will be! Defend the Al-Aqsa Mosque against Israel", Sept. 25, 2008
- "PA leaders: Kuntar a hero", June 25, 2008
- "Fatah and Hamas use identical symbols to teach children hatred of Israel", May 25, 2008
- "Palestinian daily honors Sbarro terrorist as 'heroic'", April 8, 2008
- "PA TV (Fatah) lauds Internet site calling for Israel's elimination", March 14, 2008
- "'An extraordinary hero... a beacon of light' – Arch terrorist Imad Mughniyeh lauded in PA – Fatah newspaper", March 13, 2008
- "Fatah leader supports terror war in Iraq", March 5, 2008
- "Abbas rejects Jewishness of Israel, doesn't rule out armed conflict, proud to have taught terror to world", Feb. 28, 2008
- "Abbas with PLO flag erasing Israel", Jan. 14, 2008
- "PA TV: Singing to Israel's destruction", Oct. 29, 2007
- "Palestinian Authority TV visualizes a world without Israel: Shows map of Israel covered by Palestinian flag", Oct. 17, 2007
- "Soccer tournament named for 'Bat Mitzvah attack' terrorist", Aug. 16, 2007
- "A window into the culture of *Shahada*", Aug. 1, 2007
- "PA gloats over Israelis' fear of missiles", May 31, 2007
- " Hamas Spokesman: Genocide of Jews remains Hamas goal", April 12, 2007
- "Four-year-old girl vows to be suicide terrorist in Hamas TV dramatization", March 21, 2007
- "Hillary Clinton's full statement introducing PMW's report on Palestinian schoolbook", March 1, 2007
- "PA TV Tribute to the ideal men - Saddam and Arafat - "Only...because we love the *men*", Jan. 2, 2007
- "PA Daily: Jews fan the flames of evil, provoke wars, control finance and media and dominate US policy", Nov. 1, 2006
- " Hamas: Pope is Nazi, arrogant, stupid and criminal; Allah will punish Pope in due time", Sept. 26, 2006
- "PA celebrates Hezbollah attacks", Aug. 9, 2006
- "Jesus the Palestinian In Palestinian Authority ideology", July 6, 2006
- "Palestinian Authority political leaders advocated kidnapping-for-hostage policy", June 27, 2006
- "PA TV: Dreaming of Israel's destruction", May 15, 2006
- "PA Child: "Daddy bought me a machine gun and a rifle", Feb. 28, 2006
- " Hamas video: We will drink the blood of the Jews", Feb. 14, 2006
- "PA Leadership Duplicity: PA leader Qadura Faras talks peace to Israelis and terror to Palestinians", Jan. 11, 2006
- "PA on Terror: 'Condemns' on paper, praises in practice, Dec. 6, 2005
- "PA Ministry of Culture Glorifies Murderer of 29", Aug. 22, 2005
- "PA Course Honors Terrorist Wafa Idris", July 7, 2005

- "PA TV Sermon: Extermination of Jews and Subjugation of Christians – Inevitable Goal of History", May 16, 2005;
- "PA Accusation: US forcing Christianity on Muslims", April 21, 2005
- "PA Religious Leader: Goal is Israel's Destruction", Feb. 8, 2005;
- "PA Academic on PA TV: Killing of Jews is Mandatory", Dec. 27, 2004;
- "Twice in 3 Days on PA TV: PA Religious Leaders Call for Genocide of Jews", Sept. 14, 2004;
- "PA Children's Play: The Jews Burned Palestinians in Ovens", April 19, 2004;
- "PA Libel: Israel Encourages PA Child Terror for PR Gain", March 25, 2004;
- "PA Editor: Israel Attacked Paris Synagogue to Encourage French Jews to Come to Israel", Jan. 11, 2004;
- "PA Celebrates the Start of the Fourth Year of War", Oct. 2, 2003;
- "PA Society's Universal Support for Suicide Bombers", Sept. 24, 2003;
- "Teaching Israeli Arabs to Love Only 'Palestine'", Sept. 14, 2003;
- "PA Names Summer Camp After Master Terrorist", July 15, 2003;
- "New PA Libel: Israel Puts Bombs in Toys to Kill Children", March 5, 2003;
- "PA Soccer Tournament Named After Passover Massacre Suicide Bomber", Jan. 21, 2003;
- "We Shall Knock on Heaven's Doors With the Skulls of Jews", Hamas, Dec. 2, 2002;
- "Mother Promotes Killing and Death – New PA TV Clip", Oct. 3, 2002;
- "PA Renews Efforts to Have Palestinian Children Die in Confrontations", Sept. 30, 2002;
- "Palestinian Youth Admire Terrorists", Aug. 23, 2002;
- "Talking Democracy, Singing Terrorism", May 23, 2002;
- "PA Libel: Israel Steals Body Parts from Palestinian Martyrs to Use in Hospitals", Dec. 24, 2001;
- "Call to Kill Jews and Conquer Israel in Palestinian TV Sermon", Aug. 8, 2001;
- "Dramatic Increase in Violent Broadcasts on PA TV", Aug. 1, 2001;
- "All Lies... No Dachau, No Auschwitz, These Were Disinfection Sites", Nov. 29, 2000;

#### **Advisory and/or research activities:**

Appearances in Israeli Parliament, legislatures and parliamentary committees in the United States and Europe; lectures to Members of Parliament and administrative personnel around the world, as an expert in the area of researching Palestinian Authority incitement. Partial list:

- In 2012, Palestinian Media Watch lectured to MPs and government officials from the European Union, Brittan, Australia, Holland, Norway, Israel, Italy, and Switzerland.
- In 2011, Palestinian Media Watch lectured to MPs and government officials from the United States, Brittan, Australia, Holland, Norway, and Israel.
- Lecture to delegation of Australian MP's in Israel (Nov. 2010)
- Meeting with Australian Foreign Minister concerning the PA, during the peace talks (Oct. 2010)
- Lecture to Australian Parliament during the peace talks (Oct. 2010)
- Knesset Education Committee – discussion about PA schoolbooks (July 2010)
- Press conference at the US Congress, together with Chairman of the Subcommittee on Terror, Brad Sherman, and Steve Rothman, on glorification of terrorists (May 2010)
- Press conference and lecture to EU Parliament, with MEP Hana Takkalu of Finland (June 2010)

- Lecture to Italian MP's on "Education to Peace or to Hatred" (2009)
- Lecture to US Congress Committee for International Relations, presentation of PA violations since the Annapolis Agreement (2009)
- Lecture to Dutch Parliament on PA violations of agreements (2009)
- Presentation to US Congress Committee for International Relations on friendly ties between the PA and US enemies such as Iran and North Korea (2008)
- Lecture to Norwegian Parliament on PA hate education using Norwegian funding (2008)
- Presentation to Knesset Education Committee on new PA schoolbooks (2007)
- Press conference at the US Senate with then-Senator Hillary Clinton, presenting study on new PA schoolbooks (2007)
- Lecture to US Congress Committee for International Relations, on PA violations of Annapolis Agreement (2007)
- Lecture at Knesset to 80 foreign ambassadors in Israel, on International Holocaust Memorial Day (2005)
- Lecture to Knesset Committee on Foreign Relations and Defense, describing changes in PA ideology and tactics 1997-2005 (2005)
- Subcommittee on Middle East of US Congress International Relations Committee – lecture on ideology in the PA (2005)
- Sub-Committee on Education of US Senate Budget Committee – testimony at hearing on PA education of children to hatred of Israel and the US and to "Death for Allah", and US funding for this education (2004)
- Presentation to British Parliamentary Committee on Antisemitism (2003)
- Knesset Education Committee – presentation of comparative study of schoolbooks in the PA, Jordan and Syria (2000)
- Sub-Committee on Education of US Senate Budgetary Committee – expert testimony during hearing on "Palestinian Education and Palestinian Media" (2003)
- Four lectures to Australian Parliament concerning PA education to peace/hatred (2003, 2005, 2007)
- Three lectures to Canadian Parliament concerning PA education to peace/hatred (between 2002 - 2006)
- Four lectures to European Parliament concerning PA education to peace/hatred (2001-2007)
- Four lectures to British Parliament concerning PA education to peace/hatred (2002-2007)
- Lecture to members of German Parliament concerning "Education of Palestinian children and anti-Semitism" (Nov. 2004)
- Lecture to members of French Parliament on "Indoctrination of Palestinian children to Martyrdom" (July 2003)
- Lecture to Senators and their advisors, US Senate, Washington D.C. (2001)
- Several lectures to delegations of foreign Members of Parliament and foreign journalists, at the invitation of the Israeli Foreign Ministry

**Advisory roles to governments / governmental agencies:**

- Member of committee for preparing the "Incitement Index", Israeli Prime Minister's Office (March 2010 – present)

- Report on PA glorification of terrorists, presented at joint press conference with Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister, Danny Ayalon (May 2010)
- Preparation of position papers on subjects pertaining to my sphere of expertise for the Israeli Prime Minister's Office (twice during the tenure of PM Ariel Sharon, once for the current government) for meetings with US Presidents
- Testimony to the "Committee to Establish Principles for Conducting Negotiations for Redemption of Captives and MIA's", headed by former Supreme Court Justice Meir Shamgar – presentation of report prepared by PMW on "Ramifications of the Release of Palestinian Prisoners for Palestinian Leadership and Society" (2008)
- Lecture to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, on PA use of children's TV programs and of schoolbooks for inciting children to hatred (2004)
- Member of the negotiating committee named the "Committee for the Prevention of Incitement" established within the framework of the Wye Memorandum, and preparation of all materials for the meetings and discussions in this forum (1999)
- Lectures on subjects pertaining to my sphere of expertise to participants in professional courses for Israeli and American security bodies
- Briefings to administration officials, ministers, advisors and security personnel around the world, including advisors to President Bush (3 times), the Australian Foreign Minister (2010), New Zealand Foreign Ministry (2006), Swiss Foreign Ministry (2008), Danish Foreign Ministry (2009), Australian Head of Intelligence (2007), and many others.
- Yearly lectures to FBI agents: 2010- 2012

**Lectures at academic conferences, at universities, and at research centers, since 1999:**

- Conference at Bar Ilan University (2012)
- Yale University Conference on Antisemitism: "The Central Role of Palestinian Anti-Semitism in Creating the Palestinian Identity" (Aug. 2010)
- Annual conference of the Herzliya Inter-Disciplinary Center, Israel (2010)
- Conferences at the Hudson Institute, NY (2010, 2008, 2004)
- Conference of the Herzliya Inter-Disciplinary Center, on the media during the Second Lebanon War (2008)
- Jaffe Center, Tel Aviv University, on the Second Lebanon War (2006)
- Conference at the Institute for Counter-Terrorism at the Herzliya Inter-Disciplinary Center, on "Terrorism's Global Impact" (2006, 2005)
- Conference at Boston University on the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (2005)
- Conference at Monash University, Australia, on Antisemitism (2005)
- Conferences at the Ariel University Center of Samaria, on the Media and the Middle East (2005, 2002)
- Conference at Harvard University on radical Islam (2004)
- Conference at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, on Palestinian media (2002)
- Annual Conference of the American Bar Association, on the connection between the 9/11 attacks and Sharia law (2002)
- Conference at Jaffe Center, Tel Aviv University, on ideology in Palestinian society (2001)



- Harry Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem - Conference on PA schoolbooks (2000)
- Dozens more lectures on subjects related to my sphere of expertise at universities, and participation in additional conferences in the US, Canada, Australia, Germany, Austria, Norway, England, Belgium, South Africa, South Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines.

**Media appearances:**

Hundreds of interviews to Israeli and foreign media, including all the major television and radio channels in Israel and leading overseas news channels-including BBC, CNN, Fox News, news broadcasts on Italian TV, Russian TV, German TV, Norwegian TV and others. Also interviews for documentary films as an expert on Palestinian society, ideology, and incitement.

**Prior Testimony**

During the previous four years I have given expert testimony in the following cases in Israeli courts:

1. Estate of the Deceased Gilad Zer v. PA, No. 1321/03, Tel Aviv District Court
2. Ben Shalom v. PA, No. 3361/09, Jerusalem District Court
3. Norzitz et al. v. Palestinian Authority et al., No. 2538/00, Jerusalem District Court
4. Hajaj v. Palestinian Authority, No. 3593/09, Jerusalem District Court
5. Gadari v. Shubani et al., Civil Case No. 3367/089, Jerusalem District Court
6. Estate of Didovsky v. al-Muhtasib et al., Civil Case No. 6539/04, Jerusalem District Court
6. Eliezer Amitai re murder of his wife Miriam Amitai, Case No. Unknown

I have not previously testified as an expert in a case pending in the United States.

**Fees:**

Compensation for writing this opinion was \$5000 plus VAT.

## **Palestinian Authority responsibility for terror and murder in the terror campaign coined the Al-Aqsa Intifada, during the period October 2000 through 2005**

### **General overview and conclusion:**

The totality of the evidence, as will be documented, shows that the Palestinian Authority under the direction of Yasser Arafat was responsible for, supervised, supported, promoted, glorified and reinforced the Palestinian terror campaign from October 2000 – 2005 which left over 1000 Israelis murdered mostly from suicide bombings. This campaign included violence, terror, drive-by shootings and suicide bombings, and is known among the Palestinians as the "Al-Aqsa Intifada."

The message from the Palestinian Authority, its leaders, its controlled structures to its people was explicit and unequivocal: the Palestinians were in a "war" they called the "Al-Aqsa Intifada", in which killing of soldiers, civilians and children was part of the Palestinian national duty. The PA advocated and supported the killing of civilians, Jews and Israelis, at every opportunity, and honored those who succeeded. Until today, those who directed the terror campaign continue to accept overall responsibility for the killings and see every terrorist - even those who murdered civilians - as their "soldiers" who fulfilled their national duty as determined and directed by the leaders. All the sources documenting this appear below.

### **The evidence for PA responsibility can be divided into three categories:**

#### **1. Promoting terror and killing**

From the first days from October 2000, the PA demanded violence and killing of Israelis from its people. It repeatedly presented killing of Jews as Allah's will and a religious obligation, and called for the killing of Jews everywhere they be found. Among other means, this was promoted through the media that the Palestinian Authority owns and completely controls. Already on Oct. 13, 2000 the sermon on official PA TV demanded the killing of Jews: "Have no mercy on the Jews anywhere in and country. [Quran]: 'Fight them wherever you are, wherever you meet them – kill them.'" (See full quotes and sources below)

#### **2. Celebrating the murder of Jews and glorifying the killers**

Complementing the Palestinian Authority's directives to kill Jews and Israelis were the Palestinian Authority's glorification of terror after what they deemed to be successful attacks. Mass murderers of Israelis in suicide terror were turned into Palestinian heroes by the official frameworks of the PA, by their naming of sporting events, summer camps, streets, and even schools after terrorist murderers. Video clips glorifying murder were shown repeatedly on PA TV. The glorification of the terrorists by the PA sent a clear message to the population that killing Israeli civilians was not merely acceptable but was honorable and heroic.

#### **3. Accepting responsibility PA leadership**

PA leadership has repeatedly accepted responsibility for the overall direction of the terror campaign, justifying even the killing of civilians in suicide bombings as legitimate actions of "war." The PA leadership and others in close contact with the leaders have never denied responsibility, and have explicitly accepted responsibility. Current Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas when interviewed on television, demanded the release of Palestinian terrorists even murderers in prison as follows:

"I demand [the release of] prisoners because they are human beings, who did what we, we, ordered them to do. We - the [Palestinian] Authority... This is war. One (i.e., Israel) ordered a soldier to kill, I ordered my son, brother, or others, to carry out the duty of resistance (i.e., euphemism for terror). This person killed and the other person killed." (See full transcript and source below.)

This worldview expressed by the leader of the PA, that the Palestinian Authority saw the killing of civilians as "the duty of the resistance" because it was "war," was the message the PA sent its people during the five years of terror from 2000 – 2005.

### **PA's Direct Responsibility**

In all cases of terror and violence coming from a large military or terror infrastructure, the leadership is never involved in every specific attack, but bears responsibility for the attack of those following its directives. The general directives to murder are issued through numerous means under the control of the leadership, and the perpetrators of the specific killings, with the knowledge or without the knowledge of the leaders, know they are fulfilling the national mission as determined by the leadership, as their messengers, by seeking, targeting and killing their victims.

This is precisely the message that the leadership sent its people during the entire period of the Intifada. The population was made to believe that they were all together fulfilling a historic national mission under directorship and guidance of the Palestinian Authority leadership, which involved killing as many Israelis, including civilians, as possible.

**This opinion will be divided into the following sections:**

- 1. *The PA's control over Palestinian media***
  - 2. *The Al-Aqsa Intifada: PA five-year terror campaign***
  - 3. *PA glorification of terror and terrorists***
  - 4. *Palestinian Authority leaders' acknowledge PA responsibility and control over the Intifada (2000-2005) and direction of the terror attacks***
- Conclusion**

#### **1. *The PA's control over Palestinian media***

The Palestinian Authority media, especially the official media, during the time of the PA terror campaign from 2000 – 2005 was and still remains today under the control of the PA. All the messages calling for genocide of Jews including "It is forbidden to have mercy in your hearts for the Jews in any place and in any land" and "Any place that you meet them – kill them. Kill the Jews and those among the Americans that are like them"; and many others cited in this report could not have been disseminated so consistently all the years of the violent conflict unless the PA wanted it. The same is true of video clips calling for the murder of civilian "settlers" and others glorifying suicide bombers.

The Palestinian Human Rights Monitor, headed by Palestinian human rights activist Bassem Eid, published a report at the end of 1999, which is less than a year before the start of the Palestinian terror and shows the absolute PA control of all the media within the PA territories. The report entitled, "Media in Palestine-Between the PNA's Hammer and the Anvil of Self-Censorship," exposes the PA as not allowing any press freedom in the PA areas. This total control was exerted by the PA over the media, which the PA directly controlled through

ownership, the independently owned Palestinian media and even the foreign media operating in the PA areas. The report documents the systematic human rights abuses, including arrest and torture by the PA security services of journalists who in any way moved away from the total obedience to the PA government's demands and needs. This including covering up stories the PA wanted hidden, confiscating pictures of events the PA wanted to keep quiet, and much more.

One of the arrests is described as follows in the report:

"Colonel Mohammed al-Masri from General Intelligence summoned journalist Imad al-Ifranji who worked for al-Quds Press agency. He interrogated al-Ifranji for five days about a report that he had published. During the interrogation his head was put in a bag and finally he was forced to sign a commitment that he would never disobey the PA. Failure to do so would lead to tough punishment. Colonel al-Masri threatened to speak with the director of the al-Quds Press agency as soon as the PA had moved into the West Bank. He added that the arrest of al-Ifranji was to be seen as a message to his agency. The agency should now be aware as to which type of reports to publish. Al-Masri also threatened Imad by telling him that he would personally be held responsible for any negative report published in Gaza."

Another journalist "was asked to sign a commitment not to harm the PA's interests," and another was told by "members of Criminal Intelligence... not to publish anything potentially provoking the PA."

The report also described how the self-censorship was achieved in the PA. Here is one example:

"[Publisher] Al-As'ad explained the line of his newspaper: "We want to have a paper which reflects both sides of the coin... He was summoned to the office of Jibreel al-Rujoub on 6 February 1996 and was questioned for 14 hours about why he had criticized President Arafat. "After this incident", Al'As'ad says "I imposed self-censorship because I knew the contrary would upset the [Palestinian] Authority"."

The following are many more examples of these abuses by the PA security services cited in the report. It is important to note they include attacks directed not only against journalist of the PA owned press, but also independently owned Al Quds as well as journalists from the foreign press including, Reuters, France Press, AP, WTN. The PA made it clear that all journalists report only the opinions and activities the PA wanted reported, regardless of their affiliation. Journalists found themselves, according to the Palestinian human rights organization, "Between the PA's Hammer" of abuses, and the "Anvil of Self-Censorship." (Full report is exhibit 2) It must be stressed again that this report documenting PA total control over the media was published by a Palestinian human rights organization, headed by the Palestinian human rights activist Bassem Eid.

### **From the Report of The Palestinian Human Rights Monitor, November 1999, Media in Palestine: Between the PNA's Hammer and the Anvil of Self-Censorship**

**"Violations and Abuses committed by the Palestinian Security Services against journalists..."**

#### **29 August 1998**

A group of policemen heavily beat the journalist Muneer Abu Rizeq, the editor of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* newspaper, using weapons, fists and feet. His tape recorder and



glasses were also broken. The grounds for this action was his presence at the Military Court in Gaza attending the trial of the two brothers Mohammed and Majdi Ibrahim al-Khaleli.

### **13 September 1998**

Saber Nouredin, a journalist who works as a correspondent for the "France Agency" in Gaza was summoned by the police and detained for ten hours. The day before he had been prevented from filming a rally organized by Hamas. After refusing to hand over his camera and the film, both his personal and professional identification cards were confiscated by the police.

### **25 August 1998**

Members of the Preventive Security Service (PSS) beat a photographer from *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* newspaper, Naser Naser, who was subsequently taken to hospital. The PSS confiscated his camera and broke a second one belonging to journalist Majed al-Aroui. The beating and confiscation took place because the two journalists had refused to stop filming a sit-in by human rights organizations outside the house of the martyr Imad Awadallah: the Palestinian Security Services had surrounded his house and had prevented the Awadallah family from leaving it...

### **9 April 1998**

The Palestinian police's criminal investigation unit arrested the following Reuters correspondents in Gaza: Taher Shreiteh, Nidal al-Mughrabi, Ahmad Jaddallah, Shams Shana'a and Soudah Abu-Seif. All five were asked to sign an undertaking not to work again and not to cause disputes and troubles. All five refused. Following the intervention of Zakaria al-Talmees, the Head of the Journalists Association in Gaza, on the morning of 10 April 1998, it was agreed that the journalists would undertake to be careful and precise in their work and that when reporting news they would respect the Palestinian press law.

### **14 May 1996**

Three members from the General Intelligence Service broke into the Office of France Agency (AFP) in Gaza City and arrested the journalist Fayez Ibrahim Nouredin on the grounds that he had published a photograph of some youngsters pushing a donkey into the sea, with the phrase "Specialised in Donkeys!" written below the photo... During his arrest one of the three persons who arrested him tied his hands behind his back, whilst the other two covered his head with a bag and pushed him violently into their vehicle. They put him on the floor of the car, kicked him heavily with their boots and insulted him. This behaviour continued until they reached their headquarters (al-Saraya) where one of them took off his boot and beat Nouredin with it. He then grabbed him by his neck and told him to curse himself.

After beating him for half an hour, they placed him between the metal door of the cell and the wall and pushed him violently. They then pushed him into the cell, and ordered him to stand with his arms in the air for two hours. They then brought a book and a pen and asked him to write his autobiography. He was taken to an interrogation room where three officials questioned him about the photograph and the person who had forced him to take it... He was finally asked to sign a commitment, which he did, whilst also telling

his interrogators that he would lodge a complaint against them. Their response? "If you say one word, we'll punish you". He was released at 9 pm.

#### **17 March 1998**

The Preventive Security Service in Gaza detained Dr. Ghazi Hamad at the "*Tal al-Hawa*" detention center, because of an article he had written in *al-Istiqlal* (Independence) newspaper about the relationship between the PA and Palestinian citizens. He was released on 27 April 1998 without having been brought to trial. His release was not authorised by the Attorney General. Dr. Hamad, who was tortured during his arrest, said: "They read my articles on the relationship between the citizen and the security services and beat me heavily with wires."

#### **7 March 1996**

The journalist Muhsen al-Ifranji, 29 years of age, was arrested by members of the General Intelligence Service at his house in Gaza at around 10 pm. He was questioned about essays and articles he had published in al-Quds newspaper and was asked to sign a commitment not to harm the PA's interests. Al-Ifranji was badly treated during his detention. Whilst being taken to an interrogation room, his head was put in a bag and his hands were tied behind his back. He told the PHRMG: "For 7 days I was alone in a cell and was interrogated three times a day, mainly at night. I was threatened. I had never expected to be put in such a position. I wish they would allow us to do our duty without suffering such abuse". Muhsen's detention lasted for 21 days. He was not charged and was not presented before a judge. No legal action was taken and he was released on 28 March 1996 .

#### **30 May 1997**

Members of Criminal Intelligence arrested the journalist Maher Farraj after ten at night and took him to police headquarters in Gaza. After one hour he was taken to the office of Colonel Talal Abu Zeid and was asked not to publish anything potentially provoking the PA. Colonel Zeid apportioned him with the responsibility for the publication of an article written by Dr. Ayoub Otman from al-Azhar University, entitled "On the Margin of the Report by the Monitoring Committee", an article the Colonel considered as constituting incitement against the PA...Farraj was detained until 4 am.

#### **22 May 1999**

The criminal intelligence in Gaza arrested the writer of an article and the Chief Editor of al-Risala newspaper for publishing a report on the torture of a citizen in a Palestinian prison.

#### **9 March 1999**

A unit from General Intelligence broke into the house of journalist Fayed Abu-Shammala and confiscated videos, documents and press material...

#### **8 March 1999**

Men from the General Intelligence shot at the press office of Abdel-Salam Abu-'Askar, broke into it and attempted to smash one of its doors.

#### **December 1998**

Members of the Palestinian Police arrested eight journalists from the Gaza Strip, after they had covered a march organized by the Popular Front... One the same day the PA closed down three press offices working for Reuters, Associated Press and the Cinema Production Centre. *Journalists arrested for several hours reported that their cameras had been confiscated and that two of them had been beaten by the police...*

#### **20 July 1998**

The journalist Ahmad Khalil al-Mashharawi, 27 years of age, was summoned by the Intelligence Service because of a photograph he had taken of the (suddenly) bald journalist Majdi al-Turk: the security service had shaven his head. The person who interrogated him asked him: "In whose interest was this photograph taken?"

#### **14 May 1998**

Members of the National Security heavily beat journalist Imad al-Ifranji, who works as a correspondent for al-Quds newspaper, whilst he was covering clashes between Palestinian youngsters and Israeli occupation forces near the *GhoshQatif* settlement in Gaza Strip.

#### **5 May 1998**

Two members of the General Intelligence Service arrested journalist Abbas al-Momani from a press office in the Tannous building in Ramallah. Without presenting him with an official warrant or a detention order, they asked al-Momani to accompany them. On 10 May, al-Momani escaped from prison after having been tortured but was arrested again the same day. He was finally released on 14 May after committing himself verbally not to mention the incident to anyone.

#### **30 March 1996**

The Security Services abused and beat the following Nablus journalists with clubs: Abdel-RahmanKhabeiseh, Hussam al-Qadah (al-Nahar correspondent) and Abdel-Rahim al-Qusseini.

#### **27 February 1996**

'AlaSaftawi was arrested by a police force after midnight because of his editorial article that had appeared in the 16 February 1996 edition of al-Istiqlal (Independence) newspaper, entitled "Oath and Responsibility". The article spoke about the deteriorating security situation. During the interrogation, the police claimed that the article disrespected the President's personality. Saftawi told them: "I never meant to disrespect the President. All I wanted to do was discuss the deteriorating security situation and to warn people about it". He was detained for three days.

#### **8 October 1995**

The journalist Mohammed Taher el-Nounou was summoned to General Intelligence offices (al-Saraya) by the official Ayman al-Kafarneh.... After some rounds of questioning, al-Kafarneh asked two men to blind-fold his eyes and he was pushed into a cell where he remained for two days. Al-Nounou told the PHRMG: "They used to let us out three times every day only for the purposes of relieving ourselves." On the morning of 10 October 1995, they questioned him again whilst he was still blind-folded and beat him. He was then taken back to his cell and then to the office of the ex-Attorney General



Khaled al-Qidrah. The latter asked him "not to be a trouble-maker and not to attack the PA". He was then released.

#### **12 July 1995**

Colonel Mohammed al-Masri from General Intelligence summoned journalist Imad al-Ifranji who worked for al-Quds Press agency. He interrogated al-Ifranji for five days about a report that he had published. During the interrogation his head was put in a bag and finally he was forced to sign a commitment that he would never disobey the PA. Failure to do so would lead to tough punishment. Colonel al-Masri threatened to speak with the director of the al-Quds Press agency as soon as the PA had moved into the West Bank. He added that the arrest of al-Ifranji was to be seen as a message to his agency. The agency should now be aware as to which type of reports to publish. Al-Masri also threatened Imad by telling him that he would personally be held responsible for any negative report published in Gaza.

#### **14 May 1995**

Palestinian police closed down the premises of al-Watan...one day after his arrest, a decision was taken to imprison its Editor-in-Chief Sheikh Sayed Abu-Musameh for three years on the grounds that he had published articles of an inciteful nature against the PA. A judgment in absentia was also handed down against the Editor, Dr. Ghazi Hamad, condemning him to two years imprisonment. Both judgements were not executed and Sheikh Abu-Musameh was released after eight months following a deal between the PA and Hamas.

#### **February 1995**

The following six employees from al-Istiqlal (the Independence) newspaper were arrested by Palestinian Intelligence: Editor-In-Chief 'AlaSaftawi, 'Atiyeh Abu Mansour, KhaledSadeq, Zakaria al-Madhoun, Mohammed Fayyad and NahedKutkut. Saftawiwas released after 23 days. The others remained in prison for three months."

[The Palestinian Human Rights Monitor, November 1999, Media in Palestine: Between the PNA's Hammer and the Anvil of Self-Censorship; (Full report is Exhibit 2)]

### **The official Palestinian Authority media**

#### **Palestinian Authority TV**

In addition to its control of the media through intimidation, as documented above, the PA has direct control over its own official media. This includes:

***Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*** is the PA's official daily newspaper, as explained by Nabil Khatib, a Palestinian lecturer at BirZeit University:

"*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* is also new and is officially owned by the Palestinian Authority. All its employees receive PA salaries... The main editor of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Hafez Al-Barghouti, is also the Director General of the Palestinian Authority Ministry of Information. While he has some level of power to maneuver, the PA determines the official policy of the newspaper regarding foreign topics... Sometimes, Israeli and foreign journalists who cover the PA seem surprised that democratic freedoms are so limited,



why can't we live 'according to the standards in Sweden.' The simple answer to this is that we are behind Sweden by 300 years; we still haven't had the opportunity to develop domestic institutions that may be able to make journalistic freedom a reality."

["The Structure of the Palestinian Media", presented at a conference of The Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey and The Tami Steinitz Center for Peace Research at Tel Aviv University, presented a paper, February, 2003. (Full report is Exhibit 3)]

### **Palestinian Authority TV and radio**

Palestinian Authority TV is part of the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), which was established in 1994 by Yasser Arafat. PA TV and Voice of Palestine radio are the official PA governmental media, under the direct control of the Palestinian Authority. In May 2005, the PBC was put under the control of the PA Ministry of Information. However, immediately after Hamas' election victory in 2006, but before the new Hamas-based government was formed, the PA moved the media back under the control of the office of the Chairman, Mahmoud Abbas, to prevent the media from coming under the control of Hamas.<sup>1</sup>

PBC has a website with a PA government website address: <http://www.pbc.gov.ps>, but most of the site is inactive, including the link to its English version.

In 2010, Yasser Abd Rabbo, Secretary General of the PLO Executive Committee and Inspector General of the PA's official media, announced that Palestinian Authority Chairman and PLO Chairman Mahmoud Abbas had decided to create a public body to oversee PA TV, making it independent and no longer "official PA media." Abd Rabbo expressed that once the new system would be in place, PA TV would "not be the mouthpiece of the government, with an attempt to dictate to society and to direct it as the government sees fit":

"Yasser Abd Rabbo, Inspector General of the [Palestinian Authority's] **official media**, has revealed that President Mahmoud Abbas, in his role as Chairman of the PLO, recently issued a presidential directive resolving to convert the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation and **Palestinian television from a governmental institution** into an independent public institution... According to the second section of this directive, **a public council will be established, under the name 'The Public Council for Palestinian Broadcasting and TV,' subordinate to the President and enjoying the status of a legal entity and financially and administratively independent, legally capable of carrying out all the actions necessary to fulfill its aims...** [Abd Rabbo:] 'We have started to proceed in the right direction... to achieve a TV and radio broadcasting that will express the will of our Palestinian society in all its shades and contradictions, and [such] that **the TV will not be the mouthpiece of the government, with an attempt to dictate to society and to direct it as the government sees fit...**' [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, May 15, 2010, Exhibit 4]

The new framework was not implemented as promised in 2010.

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<sup>1</sup> "After the Hamas victory at the polls [general elections] in 2006 and just before [Hamas Prime Minister] Haniyeh was installed, government-owned media were put under the control of President Abbas when traditionally they are controlled by the prime minister." Reporters Without Borders, *Annual Report 2008 - Palestinian Territories*, Feb. 13, 2008, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/47b418d928.html> [accessed June 30, 2011]

**WAFA Palestine News and Information Agency**, the official Palestinian news service, was established in 1972 by the PLO and is under the control of the PLO Executive Committee, headed by Mahmoud Abbas.

Contrary to the stated goal of making the government-controlled media independent, Mahmoud Abbas issued an order in 2011 to bring more media under his direct personal control, adding the Palestinian news service Wafa to the PA government-controlled media:

Headline: "President [of the PA Abbas] issues order regulating activity of WAFA agency"  
"Last night, President Mahmoud Abbas issued a presidential order regulating the activity of the WAFA Palestine News and Information Agency. The order emphasizes that the Palestine News and Information Agency is subordinate exclusively to the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee [Mahmoud Abbas]." [*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, May 10, 2011, Exhibit 5]

The extent of PA TV control even under Mahmoud Abbas can also be seen by how the director of PA was fired for not giving prominence to a story about the PA Prime Minister:

"The director of Palestine TV, Muhammad Dahoudi, has been fired for failing to give enough coverage to Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Salaam Fayad, Palestinian journalists said on Tuesday. The decision to dismiss Dahoudi was taken by Yasser Abed Rabbo, a senior official who is in charge of the PA media... A senior Fatah official told the London-based daily *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* that the main reason behind the decision was Dahoudi's failure to provide extensive coverage of Fayad's activities. The official said that Abed Rabbo lost his temper last week when Palestine TV failed to dispatch a crew to film Fayad during a ceremony to inaugurate a village water project."

[Jerusalem Post, Aug. 26, 2009, Exhibit 5B]

Clearly, since PA TV is so controlled, that the director can be fired for merely not giving prominence to a story, PA TV could not have broadcast repeated calls to kill Jews, were this not PA policy directed from above. Moreover, the calls to kill Jews that this opinion will document, were during the period of the PA terror campaign (Intifada), when PA TV was under Yasser Arafat, at a time when controls were even greater than in 2009 under Abbas.

To summarize, PA TV, PA radio, the newspaper *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and the WAFA news service are official PA media, which the PA actively uses to transmit the PA's political and ideological messages to its people. These messages reflect the beliefs, opinions and goals of the Palestinian Authority, and the continual transmission of the same messages through the PA-controlled media and other structures indicates an intentional pattern by the PA rather than coincidence. Given the total control by the Palestinian Authority over all media emanating from the PA even during times of peace, it is certain that all information, messages, support for terror and violence emanating from the PA media and especially the official PA daily *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* and official PA TV could not have been coincidence and were certainly intended by the PA during the Intifada.

The transmission of incitement to kill Jews and Israelis during the years 2000- 2005 through the media the PA owns and controls, and the glorification of terror and terrorists who killed civilians that is documented in the coming sections, could not have happened without the active direction, permission and guidance of the PA leadership.

And even if one could explain that at times a single message could be broadcast that was against PA policy, this opinion documents messages of support for violence and terror, promotion of killing and terror glorification that were the backbone of the PA controlled messaging through the media over the entire period of the active terror campaign. These messages were repeated regularly by officials, in sermons, in statements, in news reports and in PA propaganda clips. Given the total control by the PA through both ownership and intimidation, there is no possibility that these repeating messages to kill Israelis were not directed by the leadership who was interested in its opinions being disseminated as widely as possible.

## **2. The Al-Aqsa Intifada: PA five-year terror campaign**

The term *Al-Aqsa Intifada* is a Palestinian expression referring to the period of violence between Palestinians and Israel from 2000 - 2005. Literally, the word *intifada* in Arabic translates as “shaking” or “shaking off.” However, the Palestinians have given the term particular meaning referring to their violent attacks within Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip against Israeli civilians and military. This included the full range of violence from youths throwing stones at Israeli cars, to drive-by shootings and to suicide bombings on busses, restaurants, pizza shops and in malls that eventually killed over 1000 Israeli civilians.

The clear understanding that *intifada* was synonymous with acts of killing civilians can be seen for example in this interview with Marwan Barghouti, Palestinian Authority MP, Secretary General of Fatah in the West Bank and Palestinian military leader during the Intifada (now imprisoned, serving five life sentences for planning murder of Israeli civilians):

Question: “Are the means of expression for rejection [of Israel] now developing beyond stones – for example, to weapons?”

Barghouti: “The armed struggle is now part of the *Intifada*. It is not limited just to stones. Since the beginning of the *Intifada*, 66 [Israelis mostly civilians] have been killed, and 614 more have been injured, and that is a good count.”

Question: “People say that the *Intifada* will expand during the [Israeli PM Ariel] Sharon era, and that the count will improve.”

Barghouti: “We will try to break him on the very issue of security, because Sharon was elected on the strength of security.”

[*Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, London, reprinted in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, March 1, 2001, Exhibit 7a-7b]]

Note also that both the interviewer from the official PA daily and the Fatah leader worked with the assumption that the purpose of the armed Intifada was to kill Israelis and that those killings were a desirable result.

## **The Palestinian Authority planned the violence**

The Palestinians call this the *Al Aqsa Intifada* because they started it in response to then Israeli member of Israeli Parliament Ariel Sharon’s visit on September 28, 2000 to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem which is close proximity to the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The PA used Sharon’s walk on the Temple Mount as the spark to start the violence. A book published a year later by Mamdouh Nawfal, Arafat’s official advisor at the time, describes how Arafat called the PLO leadership – political and military – to a meeting a few days before

Sharon's visit to the site holy to both Jews and Muslims, and announced his plan to use the visit as a spark for a conflict:

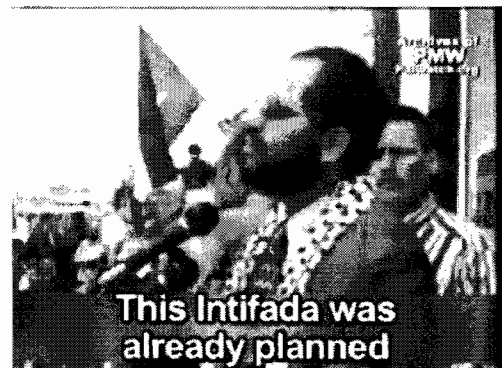
"Yasser Arafat summoned the Palestinian leadership to an emergency meeting in Ramallah just prior to the day of the visit [to the Temple Mount, by Sharon], on Sept. 28, 2000. He said there: '... The battle for Jerusalem began with the Camp David summit, and Sharon's [planned] visit has brought it to here. Jerusalem is in danger, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque is in danger, and as Allah is my witness, I make this known.' Arafat spoke with the knowledge that Jerusalem holds a special status among the Palestinian people, and all the Arabic and Islamic peoples, and out of full conviction that it would be easy to enlist the Palestinian and Arab street, and to motivate them to take part in the battle in defense of Jerusalem and of the holy places.... He said, 'The believers will hurry to the defense of Al-Aqsa.'"

[Al-Ayyam, Sept. 30, 2001 Exhibit 8]

Imad Faluji, PA Minister of Communications under Arafat at the time explained that Arafat had been planning the Intifada since he returned from the failed Camp David talks in July 2000 and used the Sharon Temple Mount visit as an excuse to start the violence:

"Whoever thinks that the Intifada started because of the hated Sharon's visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque is mistaken. That was only the straw breaking the Palestinian people's patience. This Intifada was already planned since [Arafat] the President returned from the recent talks at Camp David [July 2000]."

[Recording of speech by Faluji, unknown source, Dec. 5, 2000, Exhibit 1 - DVD]



See Section 4 of this opinion for documentation of many Palestinian leaders and officials statements acknowledging the PA leadership responsibility for the Intifada and its violence.

#### ***PA calls for killing of Jews immediately following Sharon's visit***

The desire to exploit Sharon's visit to the Jewish holy site as a spark for violence and terror against Israelis can be seen not only by the statement of his advisor but by the calls to violence and killing of Jews that the PA started transmitting to its people immediately following Sharon's walk. These messages came through its official and controlled media in the form of religious leaders describing killing of Jews as religious worship and clips that presented violence as a national duty.

#### ***Promotion of killing in the name of Islam for Allah***

The official PA religious establishment started to present the killing of Jews as an Islamic imperative and Allah's demand. A mere two weeks after Sharon's walk on the Temple Mount the official Friday sermon on PA TV called for genocide of Jews:

"The Jews are the Jews, whether Labor or Likud, the Jews are the Jews. They do not have any moderates or any advocates of peace. They are all liars... They must be butchered and they must be killed, as Allah said [in the Quran]: 'Fight them, Allah will punish them by your hands. He will humiliate them, and grant you victory over them.'"



The Jews are like a spring: As long as you step on it with your foot, it doesn't move. But if you lift your foot off the spring, it hurts you and punishes you. This is the case of the Jews. Have no mercy on the Jews anywhere in and country. [Quran]: 'Fight them wherever you are, wherever you meet them – kill them.' Wherever you are - kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them and those who stand with them. They are all together against the Arab and the Muslims."

[Dr. Ahmed Yousuf Abu Halabiah, a member of the Palestinian Shari'ah (Islamic religious law) Rulings Council, and Rector of Advanced Studies at the Islamic University, Palestinian Television, Oct. 13, 2000, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

This promotion of killing Jews as Allah's will is very significant in a religious society.

The calls to kill Jews for Allah that started following Sharon's walk and the outbreak of violence continued regularly for years on official PA TV:

Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi, Palestinian Authority cleric:

"I was delighted when a youth said to me: 'Oh, Sheikh, I am 14 years old, I have 4 more years, and then I will blow myself up among Allah's enemies. I will blow myself up among the Jews.' I said: 'My little son, I'll ask Allah [to grant] you Martyrdom.'

We blow them up in Hadera, we blow them up in Tel-Aviv and in Netanya through the mastery that Allah placed us upon this riff-raff. If there is no way out of death, it is shameful for us to die as cowards. The Jews have bared their teeth....they will not be deterred except by the color of the blood of their filthy people. They will not be deterred unless we blow ourselves up willingly and voluntarily among them. The Prophet Muhammad said: 'The Jews will fight against you but Allah will make you masters over them.' That is, not only through the bravery of our sons but also Allah will make the Muslim master of the Jew. Blessings upon anyone who has charged at a soldier for the sake of Allah. Blessings upon anyone who has acted for the sake of Allah and has gone on raids for His sake. Blessings upon anyone who has brought up his sons with the education of Jihad and Martyrdom-seeking. Blessings upon anyone who has saved a single bullet in order to put it through a Jew's head. We shall enter Jerusalem as conquerors and Jaffa as conquerors, and Haifa as conquerors and Ashkelon as conquerors."

[Sheikh Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi, Friday sermon on PA TV, Aug. 3, 200, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

See this speech and representative examples of official Palestinian media during the period of the terror campaign, with English subtitles chosen from different years in the DVD Exhibit 1.

A very significant religious teaching appeared in the official PA daily in a religious article by Sheikh Muhammad Abd Al Hadi La'afi, the senior PA religious official - responsible for Religious Teaching and Instruction in the Office of the Waqf. Here he taught that Islam is destined to continue fighting and killing Jews until their annihilation:

"The battle with the Jews will surely come... the decisive Muslim victory is coming without a doubt, and the prophet spoke about in more than one Hadith and the Day of Resurrection will not come without the victory of the believers [the Muslims] over the descendants of the monkeys and pigs (i.e., the Jews) and with their annihilation."

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, May 18, 2001 Exhibit 9]

These ongoing teachings from the official PA religious leaders that Jews were God's enemy and killing of Jews was fulfillment of God's will, were not merely powerful justification for killing Jews, but made it essentially mandatory religious behavior. As the PA religious teacher Ahmad Abdel Razeq taught in an official PA TV sermon: "Allah told those who did not go to Jihad: 'Unless you go forth he will inflict you with a painful doom and replace you with another people'... the only way to honor is by fighting the enemies." [PA TV, March 22, 2002 , Exhibit 1 - DVD]

To summarize; during the Intifada, the Palestinian religious leaders, including official appointees of the PA political leadership, were publicly preaching that the Israel-Palestinian conflict is part of Islam's eternal religious war against the Jews. Jews were portrayed as the eternal cursed enemies of Allah, and the killing of Jews presented as Allah's will. If they did not fulfill this mandatory Islamic destiny they would be replaced by others who would fulfill this.

PMW published a full report on the PA religious teachings in March 2002, "*Islam's mandatory war against Jews and Israel in Palestinian Authority religious teaching*," which brings dozens of examples. See the full report as exhibit 10

The systematic religious messages cited above and in more detail in the full PMW report coming from official and totally controlled PA TV and the fact that these teachings started precisely at the time Arafat wanted to ignite violence are further indicators that these were not spontaneous isolated messages from religious leaders but were teachings that the PA leaders wanted to be transmitted to their population.

In addition as shown above, Palestinian media was totally controlled at that time through ownership and intimidation of journalists by the PA and accordingly it is not possible that the official PA TV would be used repeatedly for years by religious leaders to call for the killing of Jews and glorify the killing of Jews as religious obligation— were this not the official policy that the PA leaders wished to promote.

***PA TV videos promoting violence and killing of Israelis in general and of residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in particular***

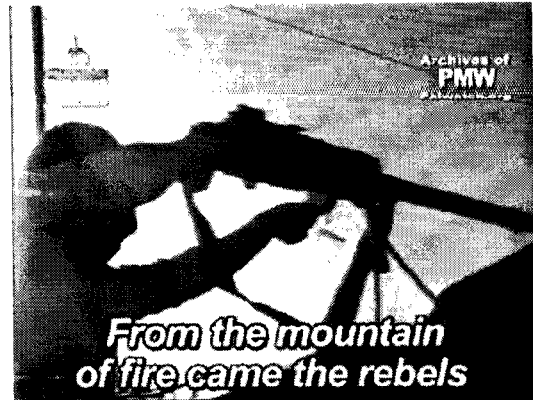
In addition to the PA's promotion of killing through recruitment of the religious establishment, from the first day after Sharon's Temple Mount walk, official PA TV continuously produced and showed broadcasts designed to create hatred of Israelis and Jews and promote violence. Days after Sharon's visit, PA TV started broadcasting a video which showed the film of Sharon walking on the Temple Mount surrounded by Israeli police, with the following text:

"My brothers! The oppressors (i.e., Israel, picture of Sharon) have overstepped the boundary. Therefore Jihad and sacrifice are a duty".

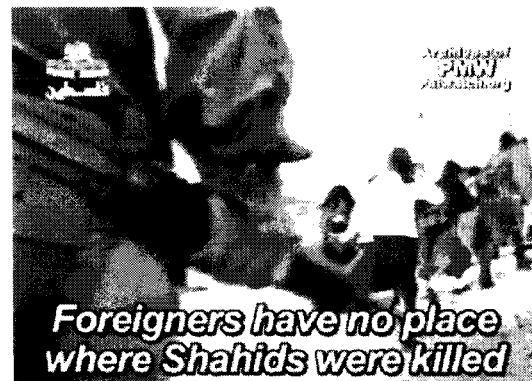
[PA TV (Fatah), Oct. 3, 2000 and hundreds of times afterward, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

Hours of TV broadcasts each day were dedicated to showing violence between Israelis and Palestinians. The violence broadcasts included many close up pictures of dead and injured Palestinians, as well as pictures of Palestinians attacking Israelis with stones and weapons.

Sometimes the clips explicitly directed Palestinians to kill Israeli civilians who were living in the West Bank. One video broadcast hundreds of times on official PA TV showed pictures of numerous Palestinians holding and firing automatic weapons and the targets being shown were Israeli civilians. One section of the video showed teenage girls and a soldier accompanied by a song with the words "Foreigners have no place on this land" – indicating these girls were a legitimate target. Both before and after the picture of the teenagers were pictures of men wearing face masks holding automatic rifles:



"From the mountain of fire (Nablus) came the rebels.  
 From the mountain of fire (Nablus) came the rebels.  
 When dawn broke over the ancient ruins.  
 Everywhere there are settlements.  
 Oh brave Nablus, keep the cauldron ablaze.  
 Pour great flames over the settlements.  
 Foreigners have no place on this land.  
 Foreigners have no place where *Shahids* (Martyrs) were killed.  
 Foreigners have no place on this land.  
 Foreigners have no place where *Shahids* (Martyrs) were killed."



[PA TV (Fatah), broadcast hundreds of

times between 2003 and 2007, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

One video broadcast repeatedly in 2002 showed a group of adolescents holding rifles. One of the boys runs to throw a grenade and is shot. The other boys bring his dead body, wrapped in a Palestinian flag, to his mother. The mother kisses her son and emits a cry of joy. The video then cuts to the mother handing rifles to her other sons who then leave her to return to battle. The key words of the song in the video promote the killing of Jews: "'Khaibar' will be repeated, over and over." Khaibar is the Jewish town where Muhammad massacred the Jewish population in the 7th Century according to the Quran. This massacre marked the destruction of the fourth Jewish tribe by Muhammad and it was the end of the Jewish presence in Arabia at that time. The reference in the video to "'Khaibar' will be repeated, over and over" – is a call to massacre Jews – in the name of religion- again and again.





The following lyrics are heard in the background:

"Our *Shahids* (Martyrs) have sworn, we shall live no longer. Either we shall pray [in Jerusalem] or we shall die at your gate, standing upon your threshold. 'Khaibar' (i.e., massacre of Jews) will be repeated, over and over, Oh Muslims. Mother, Oh mother, I swear by your pure eyes and hands, the tears in your eyes obligate them. Oh free [land], two children will come, in place of one. They will wipe away the shameful history. Oh free [land], two children will come, in place of one. They will wipe away the shameful history."

[PA TV (Fatah), Oct. 13, 2002, and repeatedly since, Exhibit 1 - DVD]



In one music video which PA TV started broadcasting in May 2001, Palestinian children are told to leave their toys and take up stones:

Text introducing song: "This song is dedicated to the Palestinian child Martyr Muhammad Al-Dura, who symbolized the courage of the Palestinian-Arab nation, its children, elders, and mothers. It [the song] demonstrates the hatred, cowardice, and oppression of the Zionist Israelis."

Song: "The promise of peace is over. The time for talking is over. The stone of our country in the hands of a youth confronts you, my enemy. Defeat him, Oh stone! Defeat him!"

[visual in video: Young boy drops his toy car and picks up a stone.]

"I will meet you, Muhammad, Palestine's child."

[visual in video: Young girl drops her doll and picks up a stone.]

[PA TV (Fatah), May 2001, and repeatedly since, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

For years, hours a week, sometimes hours a day, of PA TV broadcasting were dedicated to violence videos with music backgrounds showing heroic Palestinians combatting Israelis.

### ***News reports and PA leaders calling to increase the Intifada, i.e., euphemism for violence***

In addition, the official PA daily was constantly giving exposure to the individuals, officials and Palestinian leaders legitimizing the Intifada violence and calling for its escalation. Before reading these citations it must be stressed that, as documented above, journalists were tortured, arrested, had equipment confiscated and were forced to sign declarations for things as minor as covering protests or taking pictures of donkeys. None of the following material reinforcing and calling for more violence could have been reported so repeatedly had it not been PA policy.

Additionally it should be stressed that the Fatah movement— which is cited below as openly giving support to the Intifada and encouraging violence - was headed by PA Chairman Yasser Arafat. These Fatah citations – as well as the sources quoting Arafat himself - are significant from any news source, in addition to the official daily.



The following are some examples:

"President Yasser Arafat greeted the Arab journalists in Israel...he wrote: 'Our Palestinian people, which is marking these [holiday] occasions together, is continuing for the fourth consecutive month **its blessed Intifada** and its resistance to the cruel Israeli attack, and has offered rows of amazing **Shahids (Martyrs)**.'"

[Al-Ayyam, Jan. 3, 2001, Exhibit 11]

Headline: "Commemorating the anniversary of the outbreak of the Fatah revolution – two rallies, in Bethlehem and at the Deheisheh refugee camp, **affirm adherence to continuation of the Intifada** up until attainment of national goals"

"At the rally, Kamel Hmeid, Secretary of Fatah in Bethlehem, greeted the movement's fighters, the district's *Shahids* (Martyrs), the *Shahids'* families, the wounded of the Intifada, the prisoners in the jails... [Hmeid] said, 'Therefore, the *Intifada* of the *Shahids* will remain ongoing and fizzing, and will turn the ground under the feet of the Zionists and the collaborators and the settlers into a searing fire...'"

[Al-Ayyam, Jan. 2, 2001 Exhibit 12]

Headline: "Secretary of the Fatah movement in the West Bank, Marwan Barghouti: 'Negotiation without resistance (i.e. violence) is humiliation and begging'"

"The connection between Fatah and the [Palestinian] National Authority is based on integration and assistance. Barghouti emphasized the need to continue the *Intifada*."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Jan. 13, 2001 Exhibit 13]

"Secretary General of the Palestinian Islamic Front, Sheikh Salah Abdal-A'l, said: 'Resistance must be [carried out] through an **escalation of Al-Aqsa Intifada activity**... Activity in the media and diplomatic sphere must be intensified along with **Intifada activity**.'"

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Jan. 20, 2001 Exhibit 14]]

"**The political forces are calling for an escalation of the Intifada and resolve in the face of the American conspiracy.**"

"**The masses view the uprising and the continuation of the Intifada as the only option** for forcing the Israeli government to accept a just peace and to award [Palestinians] national rights. They called for an expansion of *Intifada* activities throughout the homeland and the escalation of activities of uprising... At the rally, speeches were delivered by representatives of Fatah, the Popular Front and Hamas, emphasizing support for the [Palestinian] Authority's leadership, in light of the decision to reject the American proposals. **These speeches also emphasized that the path of force is the only path to achieve national rights.**"

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Jan. 2, 2001, Exhibit 15a -15b]

"Member of the Fatah Central Committee and representative of President Yasser Arafat at the memorial ceremony, SakhrHabash Abu Nizar, said that in every Palestinian there is a self-sacrificer... Habash emphasized that he and his [Fatah] movement strive for the Intifada and its escalation, as a sign of loyalty to the blood of Thabet and the blood of all the *Shahids* (Martyrs). He said that **the Intifada is a legitimate right and a drawn sword borne by the Shahids standing up to the Zionist expansion.**"

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Feb. 16, 2001, Exhibit 17a – 17 b]

“The Supreme Monitoring Committee of the Intifada in the Gaza districts **called upon the masses of our Palestinian people to continue the Intifada, to escalate it, and to oppose the Israeli-American aggression machine with all their might. It emphasized that the escalation and deepening of the Intifada** is the definitive practical response to the criminal American-British aggression against sister Iraq...What the Palestinian people are subjected to at the hands of the Zionists, with overt American support, is what Iraq is subjected to – ongoing American aggression, as a result of which a blow to American and Israeli presence and interests is a legitimate aim for the Arab masses.... **The Committee declared tomorrow, Wednesday, a day of popular fury** throughout the Gaza districts, when our people will emphasize its solidarity with sister Iraq.”

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Feb. 20, 2001 Exhibit 18]

The literature section in the official Palestinian daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, published a poem written as an imaginary letter from a suicide bomber to his mother. It glorifies and idealizes every action of his murders and death by suicide.

The Palestinian Authority [PA] promoted, *Shahada* (Martyrdom death for Allah) in general and suicide bombing in particular to its population, and especially to its children, during the Intifada. This poem is one example. The "son's" definition of his death while killing Israelis as a "wedding" ceremony, and the call to his mother to be "joyous" over his death, were regular expressions of the Palestinian Intifada culture, which focused on the Islamic belief that a Martyr - *Shahid* - marries 72 Dark Eyed Maidens of Paradise and therefore Palestinian Martyrdom is a "wedding" and the mother should be "joyous".

*The following is the text of the imaginary "letter" of the suicide bomber entitled: "A letter from a Shahid to his Mother" By Abdul Badi Iraq*

"My Dear Mother,  
...I wrapped my body with determination, with hopes and with bombs.  
I asked [reaching] towards Allah and the fighting homeland.  
The [explosive] belt makes me fly, strengthens me to make haste.  
I calm it [the explosive], we should stay steadfast, we have not yet reached.  
I freed/launched myself; I freed/launched myself, [detonated myself] like lava burning old legends and vanity,  
I freed/launched my body, all my pains and oppression, towards the packs of beasts...  
I freed/launched, oh mother, freed the chains and the shackles.

And you found me rising and rising like a candle that was lit with precious olive oil. And you saw me sending a loving kiss above the mosques and the churches, the houses and the roads. Flocks of pigeons flew above the porches. And Al-Aqsa [Mosque] smiled and gave me a sign that we will not sleep. Dawn is close, oh mother, and it shall rise from the guns, from the shining spears  
It will be lit from a bloody wound... The wedding is the wedding of the land.  
Sound a cry of joy, oh mother, I am the groom..."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Feb. 27, 2003 Exhibit 19]

The terms Intifada and “*Shahids* of the Intifada” were well known and used by Christian Arabs in Israel as well:

“Ahmed Abd Al-Rahman, Secretary General of the Palestinian Authority government, said that the Israeli government has to choose between true peace and war. **He emphasized that the Intifada will continue...** Abd Al-Rahman, who spoke yesterday on the program *Facing the Press* at the Ministry of Information in El-Bireh, added **that Jewish blood is no better than Palestinian blood.** He demanded that Israelis accustom themselves to uprising on the part of the Palestinians.”

[*Al-Quds*, Jan. 19, 2001 Exhibit 21]

“Yesterday the Palestine Liberation Front organized a march in solidarity with the Iraqi people... They called for a continuation **of the Palestinian Intifada and its escalation** up until achievement of victory, and the restoration of all national rights, and not to obey the Israeli and American pressure and threats. In his speech, Ibrahim Al-Za'anin... thanked the President [Saddam Hussein] of Iraq for the positive assistance which he recently extended to the Palestinian people, and emphasized that Iraq and Palestine are in the same boat and are besieged by the US and Israel. Masked men burned American and Israeli flags and an effigy of Israeli Prime Minister Barak, and waved Iraqi and Palestinian flags, and photographs of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.”

[*Al-Quds*, Jan. 21, 2001 Exhibit 22]

Headline: “Qadoumi and Shaath – **the Intifada will continue**”

“The two senior Palestinian leaders announced yesterday that the **Palestinian Intifada will continue** despite the security understanding with Israel. Minister of Planning and Regional Cooperation, Dr. Nabil Shaath, told journalists yesterday that **the Intifada will not cease** until the Palestinians attain their legitimate rights. He was asked **if the Palestinians would halt the Intifada**, following the security understanding, and Shaath said that there is a difference between stopping or continuing **the Intifada** and security measures aimed at halting Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people. Head of the PLO political bureau, Dr. Farouk Qadoumi, said that **the Intifada will end only when the political aims of the Palestinian people are realized.**”

[*Al-Ayyam*, Jan. 12, 2001 Exhibit 23]

“Secretary of the government, Ahmed Abd Al-Rahman, [said] that Sharon is late with the Israeli idea to suppress the **Intifada**... Marwan Barghouti [Fatah leader] denounced... the declaration of [US military Chief of Staff] Colin Powell, in which he related to the **Intifada as terrorism.**”

[*Al-Quds*, Feb. 25, 2001 Exhibit 24]

### **3. PA glorification of terror and terrorists**

Additional and conclusive confirmation that killing of Israeli civilians was directed and encouraged by the PA comes from the PA's reaction of honor and praise to the killings and the killers of Israelis. The violence against civilians during the Intifada was and is accompanied by a glorification of those who committed the terror acts and their families. The persons who committed acts of violence against civilians and their families were lauded for their acts, given raised social standing, and received monetary and tangible benefits.

The pictures of suicide bombers adorned the front pages of the daily PA newspapers including the official PA daily, with both news stories and obituaries. They would be defined as “*Shahids*” – Holy Islamic Martyrs, a term only used for those who have accomplished a supreme positive Islamic act. Terrorists who injured the plaintiffs in this law suit and terrorist who murdered family members of plaintiffs in this law suit were likewise honored by the PA both by the leadership and through the controlled media, for their acts of terror and murder.

Sporting events for children were and continue through 2013 to be named after terrorists and murderers of civilians.

For example the PA Ministry of Education held a soccer tournament for 14 year olds which it named after the suicide bomber who killed 31 civilians at the Passover Seder bombing on March 27, 2002 [official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* Jan. 21, 2003]. All the teams were named after other terrorists.

“The TulKarem *Shahids* Memorial soccer championship tournament, of the **Shahid Abd Al-Baset Udeh** (i.e., suicide terrorist who killed 31 on Passover), began with the participation of seven top teams, named after *Shahids* who gave their lives to redeem the Homeland.

Isam, the brother of the *Shahid* (i.e., of the suicide bomber who committed the Passover massacre), will distribute the trophies.”

“The teams are:

Abed Al Basset Udeh (suicide attack, killing 31 Israelis on Passover, March 27, 2002,)

Raed Carmi (Fatah Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades commander, TulKarem)

Tarek Abu Safaka (suicide attack, killed 3, Feb. 10, 2002)

TarekAlqato (Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades)

Mahmoud Marmash (suicide bomber, Netanya)”

[Sports page, official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Jan. 21, 2003, Exhibit 25]

Monuments adorn town squares in Palestinian cities honoring and glorifying suicide bombers as heroes. For example, Raed Nazzal, who was responsible for an attack in pizza shop in a mall that murdered three and injured 30, was honored in multiple ways including having a city square named for him in the center of the city:

“The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine held a rally with speeches and artistic [events] yesterday evening in honor of [Qalqilya] district Martyrs on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Martyrdom of Raed Mussa Nazzal (Abu Al-Asir), the commander of the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades in the district. **This [took place] in the Martyr Raed Nazzal Square in the city center...**”

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, May 1, 2004Exhibit 26]

This past year the official PA daily reported on a sporting tournament named in his honor:

Headline: “The Popular Front concludes the Martyr Raed Nazzal Tournament in Qalqilya”

“...The tournament took place on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Martyrdom of the national commander Raed Nazzal.”

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, April 28, 2012,Exhibit 27]



Celebrating of the killing of four American soldiers by an Iraqi suicide bomber, the center of the Jenin Refugee Camp was named after that suicide bomber - Ali al-na'amani. The following is the announcement in a PA newspaper:

"The officials, the institutions and the National Islamic Forces in the Jenin Refugee Camp ... decided to name the center of the refugee camp "Ali al-Na'amani" after the **Shahid (Martyr)** who was the first **Shahada-Seeker** (i.e., suicide bomber) in Iraq [killing four American soldiers at a checkpoint.]"

[*Al-Quds*, April 2, 2003 Exhibit 28]

Two years in a row, children's summer camps were named after the youngest female suicide bomber, Ayyat al-Akhras - a 17 year-old girl - who killed two Israelis in a Jerusalem supermarket on March 29, 2002:

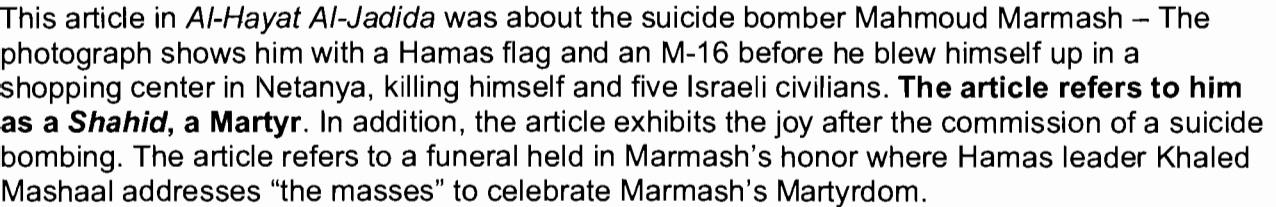
"Today the activities begin in the 10th Scouts summer camp, the *Martyrdom* seeker, Ayyat al-Akhras Camp..." [*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Aug. 4, 2002]

"Dr. Ahmad al-Yazji, Deputy Minister of Youth and Sports, attended a graduation ceremony of a summer camp named after the **Shahida (Martyr)** Ayyat Al Akhras...150 children aged 9-15 participated in the camp... Al-Yazji... saluted the **Shahids (Martyrs)**, the wounded and the prisoners." [*Al-Quds*, Aug. 14. 2003, 2003 Exhibit 29]

As mentioned, the term used to identify and distinguish those persons who were killed in Intifada-related violence including suicide terrorists was *Shahid*, an Arabic and Islamic term, meaning one who died for Allah,(often translated as a "Martyr"). In Islam, a Martyr is broadly understood as a person who dies while fulfilling a religious commandment, defending their property or country, protecting their family, or fighting in the name of religion. Similarly, the term "Ishtishhadi" – "Martyrdom seeker" was used to refer to people who sought and initiated their own martyrdom, usually as a suicide bomber.

The following are representative examples of how terrorists were honored by referring to them as "*Shahids*" (Martyrs) and *Ishtishhadis* (Martyrdom-seekers):

The following are newspaper articles from the Palestinian Authority owned newspaper *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* referring to a suicide bombing on May 20, 2001.



The following quotes from separate articles in the same PA daily over a series of days illustrate the meaning and understanding of the term *Shahid* - Martyr in addition to the widespread coverage of such events.

"More than **five thousand people participated in a procession yesterday**... carrying a symbolic coffin of the **Martyr** Mahmoud Marmash, 20, who died in an explosion operation (i.e. terror attack) which he carried out opposite a shopping center in central Netanya, leading to the death of at least 6 Israelis and the injury of some 135 more... **The announcement made through loudspeakers congratulated the people of Tulkarem for this hero** who embraced the land and kissed it..."

“Khaled Mashaal, Head of the Political Bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, praised **the masses of Tulkarem** in honor of the **heroic Shahid** (Martyr) Mahmoud Marmash... who carried out a **Martyrdom operation (i.e., suicide bombing)**



last Friday, leaving 11 dead and 150 injured in the Israeli ranks... Jamal Barham delivered a speech on behalf of the Political and National Forces... **He conveyed greetings and good wishes to the families of the heroic Martyr Marmash, who carried out the heroic operation in Netanya."**

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, May 23, 2001 (emphasis added). Exhibit 40]

This one example illustrates the repetition of media coverage, the consistent usage, meaning, and understanding of the definition of the killer as a Martyr and Martyrdom seeker as terms of praise, the celebratory dynamic in which the violence against civilians was held, and the support that was accorded to the family of the suicide bomber.

This is also seen in the prominent coverage on March 9, 2001 of the suicide bombing by Ahmed Alyan in Netanya.

First is a photograph on the front page of *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* of the mother of Ahmed Alyan, who carried out a suicide bombing attack in Netanya in March 2001. The mother is holding a poster printed in his honor and his will that he left her.



The caption to the picture states:

"Mother of **Martyr** Ahmed Omar Alyan, who carried out the **Martyrdom operation** in Netanya, holds the 'last will' letter written by the **Martyr** before carrying out the operation, and a poster with his photograph, in his home in the Nur Al-Shams refugee camp near Tulkarem."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 9, 2001 Exhibit 41 , above,(emphasis added)]

Another article on Alyan in the same newspaper shows the violence of the "operation" and calls for more violence:

Headline "Died as a Martyr in Netanya following Martyrdom-seeking operation – symbolic funeral for *Shahid* Ahmed Alyan at the Nur Al-Shams Refugee Camp."

"The Tulkarem district public participated yesterday in a symbolic funeral for the **Martyr** Ahmed Omar Alyan, 23, from the Nur Al-Shams refugee camp... During the procession, participants waved Palestinian flags and photographs of the **Martyr**, and called out national slogans denouncing the occupation and **supporting operations of heroism**, emphasizing that the revolution would continue up until the achievement of its national goals... Calls were also heard demanding revenge for the blood of the **Martyrs**, while 21 shots were fired in the air, as a sign of honor to the **Martyr**. At the end of the procession a **memorial ceremony was held, with speeches in which [speakers] swore by the blood of the Martyrs to continue in the path of struggle and revolution...**"[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 9, 2001,see below]

Along with the article is another photograph of Alyan, the symbolic funeral held for him, and the letter which Alyan left before setting out for the suicide bombing:

استشهد في تانانيا اثر عملية استشهادية  
جنازة رمزية للشهيد احمد عليان في مخيم نور شمس

وصية الشهيد عليان

جنازة رمزية للشهيد احمد عليان في مخيم نور شمس



[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, March 9, 2001]

The official PA daily gave its space to honor even people like Yahya Ayyash, known as the "Engineer" for his work as first bomb maker for Hamas, and the originator of the suicide bombing tactic. This is an invitation from Hamas to watch a documentary film about Yahya Ayyash printed as an advertisement in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*.

The title of the advertisement reads:

"A call to watch the TV documentary, 'Hawk of Palestine, Yahya Ayyash' on the Al-Manar [Hezbollah] satellite channel." The smaller text in the middle of the advertisement reads, "The Hamas Islamic Resistance Movement calls upon the masses of our Palestinian people to watch the TV documentary 'Hawk of Palestine', which marks a **glorious chapter in the struggle and Jihad of our Palestinian people and the struggle of the Jihad-fighter, the Shahid (Martyr) engineer Yahya Ayyash.**"

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Feb. 18, 2001]

This article in the PA daily glorifies the use of suicide bombings as a tactic that achieves political aims:

Headline: "A call with no listeners – The *Intifada* speaks"

"The **Martyrdom-seeking** which serves the interest of the homeland, with its land and its people, is that which is capable of producing positive results; that which is not just a matter of revenge and settling of personal accounts, or faction accounts...Hence, we

reaffirm that **Martyrdom-seeking**, at the proper place and time, is a source of power, glory and dignity in which our people believes, since sacrifices and military activities guarantee the political aim. Since the beginning of our revolution, **Martyrdom-seeking has been an inseparable part of the conviction as to the inevitability of victory, since its meaning was, and remains, a constant readiness for sacrifice of life** and that which is precious to him for the sake of God, the homeland, and the people."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, June 23, 2002, Exhibit 42a- 42b]

***Terrorists who were responsible for the attacks that injured plaintiffs and murdered relatives of plaintiffs in this lawsuit were likewise honored by the PA.***

***Terrorist Ali Jaareh***

**Terrorist Ali Jaareh** carried out a suicide bombing on a bus in Jerusalem in 2004. **One of 11 killed in that bombing, was Stuart Goldberg, whose family is a plaintiff in this lawsuit.**

On May 31, 2012, as a gesture of goodwill to PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, Israel gave the Palestinian Authority the bodies of 91 terrorists who were killed during their terror attacks. At least 11 of them were suicide terrorists and **among them was Ali Jaareh.**

Observing the attitude and treatment of the Palestinian Authority towards these terrorists in general and Ali Jaareh in particular, shows us how the Palestinian Authority's sees its relationship to these terrorists and their responsibility for the terrorist.

Significantly, the 91 were given a state military funeral as national heroes as would be awarded soldiers who performed actions, not only on behalf their government, but who accomplished them with excellence. Official PA TV covered the funeral with a continuous live broadcast. The high level speakers representing the Palestinian Authority included Secretary General of Chairman Mahmoud Abbas' office, Tayeb Abd Al-Rahim, and the highest religious figure in the PA, the Mufti Muhammad Hussein. Not only did both leaders praise them, they each presented the terrorists and suicide bombers as role models for Palestinian. Al-Rahim said in his eulogy: "We did not forget them for a moment... your souls now hover above us and say to us: 'Follow in our path.'" The Mufti said: "Honored brothers, this is a great event: The souls of the noble Martyrs envelop us, and their souls tell us to follow in their path."

The following are the longer quotes of the senior PA officials:

Secretary General of Mahmoud Abbas' office, Tayeb Abd Al-Rahim, at the televised funeral: "Our Martyrs are now among us after being in our hearts, in our minds, and in our veins. We did not forget them for a moment, we will never forget them, and we will always remain faithful to their vow... Oh brothers [Martyrs], your souls now hover above us and say to us: 'Follow in our path, stick to the obligation that is incumbent upon us and we are sure that you will be fulfilling this obligation and following this path.' May Allah have mercy on you. We ask Allah to gather you in the uppermost heaven, along with the prophets, the righteous, and the Martyrs."

[PA TV (Fatah), May 31, 2012,, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

PA Mufti Muhammad Hussein, at the televised funeral:

"Today we receive this elite group of Martyrs. Our people, headed by the Palestinian leadership, welcome these Martyrs with great honor... As we accompany these Martyrs to Heaven, we should be happy: By Allah's will, we still have elite groups of Martyrs like these

among us. We still have a generous leadership, and we still have a people that has never been sparing and will spare no sacrifice for this blessed land, for this homeland, for Jerusalem and the holy places, and for every inch of the pure land of beloved Palestine. Honored brothers, this is a great event: The souls of the noble Martyrs envelop us, and their souls tell us to follow in their path."

[PA TV (Fatah), May 31, 2012 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

Official PA TV also honored the 91 terrorists on a special TV show for youth. This is how the young TV hosts described the suicide bomber Jaareh to Palestinian youth:

**PA TV Host:** "Unfortunately, we couldn't part from them (the 91 terrorists) or even embrace them, but were satisfied standing before their bodies, standing up before their sanctified message: The homeland won't die, but we will die for it."

**Co-Host:** "These are more honored than all of us... **They are the greatest role models for us...**"

[PA TV (Fatah), June 3, 2012, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

As mentioned Ali Jaareh, who murdered Stuart Goldberg was one of those being honored as a Palestinian Authority hero for his act of suicide bombing. In addition, PA TV also honored him, together with another suicide bomber who murdered 8 in a different bus bombing, separately at their joint funeral- burial, referring to Jaareh as "**candle that lights the tunnel of liberty**":

"This is Palestine, which embraces its Martyr sons who are more honored than all of us, and which sends a message to the whole world that our Martyrs are not numbers, but rather a candle that lights the tunnel of liberty for the Palestinian people on the way to independence."

[PA TV (Fatah), 01/06/2012 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

### ***Terrorist Wafa Idris***

Wafa Idris was the first Palestinian female suicide bomber. **Her suicide attack injured the plaintiffs Mark, Rena, Jamie, and Lauren Sokolow, when she blew herself up in Jerusalem**, killing one and injuring more than 150 on Jan. 27, 2002. As a volunteer for the Palestinian Red Crescent, she was able to bypass Israeli security and enter Jerusalem in a Palestinian ambulance.

The official handwritten report of the Palestinian Authority Ministry of Welfare, from the division of the Institute for the families of Martyrs and wounded, is indicative of the PA's support for suicide terror in general and this suicide bombing against civilians in particular. Under the section "Recommendation of the Department" the following words appear:

"Died as a Martyr while executing a heroic Martyrdom-Seeking operation carried out against the Zionists in occupied Jerusalem."

Martyrdom-Seeking operation is the Palestinian Authority's euphemism for a suicide bombing, because the terrorist is planning to become a "Martyr". A Martyr is the translation of the word "Shahid" which is an Islamic religious status accorded to a person who "died for Allah". There is no higher status that a Muslim can achieve today, according to PA religious teachings, than to be a *Shahid*. Merely defining Idris and other suicide bombers as *Shahids* means that according to official PA their actions of blowing themselves up in order to kill Israelis, were religious act par excellence.

Note also that the Ministry of Welfare defined it not only as "Martyrdom-Seeking," **but as "a heroic Martyrdom-Seeking operation."**



The following are more excerpts from the Ministry official document that classified Wafa Idris as a Shahida. (female Shahid):

"Palestinian National Authority

Ministry of Welfare

Institute for the families of Martyrs and wounded

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

Social Report...

A. Personal Information: ...

Name: Wafa Idris Ali Khalil

Nationality: Palestinian...

Organizational Affiliation: Fatah ...

B. Administrative details...:

Date and Place: Jan. 27, 2002 - Jerusalem

Description of the event: She executed a Martyrdom – Seeking (i.e., suicide bombing) operation in occupied Jerusalem, when she blew herself up among a group of Zionists. This resulted in the death of one, injury to over a hundred more, and she died immediately as a Martyr, this according to the announcement in the enemy's media. Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (the military wing of Fatah) claimed responsibility for the operation....

Recommendation of the Department:

\*One of the Martyrs of the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The Martyr is divorced without children. Her father died and her mother is alive. She has three married brothers.

\*Died as a Martyr while executing a heroic Martyrdom Seeking (suicide bombing) operation carried out against the Zionists in occupied Jerusalem.

\*Therefore, we recommend to recognize her a Martyr among the Martyrs of the al-Aqsa Intifada by the regulations.

Date: 14/02/2002 Signature: Suleiman Aldich

...

Approval of the CEO:

Will be considered a Martyr (among the Al-Aqsa Martyrs) from- Feb 1, 2002 [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Ed. note - the handwriting is not entirely clear re this last part]

[Bates 6761-6774 Wafa Idris - Exhibit 42c]

Since Wafa Idris' attack the PA and the media structures they control have repeatedly presented Idris as a hero and role model, naming places and events after her, including a summer camp run by the PA Ministry of youth and sports, which was funded by UNICEF, a Fatah women's military unit, a university students group for Fatah members, a Fatah course, and more. There have been public demonstrations and songs on PA TV to honor her. All of which, as stated, would not be possible if the PA did not both support her attack and want to honor her and have her seen as a role model and hero.

The following are some of these examples:



1. Immediately following the suicide bombing, the Palestinian Authority held a memorial demonstration in her honor. A photograph of this demonstration appeared in a Palestinian daily, featuring posters bearing her picture with the following caption:

**"The Fatah Movement, Ramallah branch, Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, eulogize with great pride the heroic Martyr, of the Al-Amari Refugee Camp, the Martyr Wafa Idris."**

[*Al-Ayyam*, Feb. 1, 2002]

The demonstrators waving these posters are young girls, perhaps first-graders.

It should also be noted that Yasser Arafat who headed the Palestinian Authority was also the Chairman of Fatah, who was taking direct credit of the attack.



**2. Fatah names women's terror unit for attacking Israeli civilians after Wafa Idris:**

"Senior officials in the Fatah Movement have said that the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades... has recently created a women's brigade, in order for women to take an active part in the war being fought in the Palestinian areas. The purpose of this brigade is to carry out attacks on the Israeli home front. The unit has been named 'the Brigade in Honor of the Martyr Wafa Idris.'"

[*Al-Quds*, March 1, 2002 Exhibit 30]

**3. Fatah students' group named after Wafa Idris has course in democracy and human rights:**

"The students' committee of the *Shabiba* [Fatah] student movement, the *Shahida* (Martyr) Wafa Idris cell in the Al-Quds Open University in Tubas, celebrated yesterday the completion of a course in democracy and human rights.

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Aug. 11, 2002 Exhibit 31]

**4. Summer camp of the PA Ministry of Youth and Sports and funded by UNICEF named after Wafa Idris:**

"Yesterday, activities ended in the camp named after the *Shahida* (Martyr) Wafa Idris, for girls in the city of Qalqilya. The camp was founded by the Scout general administration in the Ministry of Youth and Sports. The camp was under the supervision of the Scouts in the Qalqilya Administration and about 100 girls from the organizing committee of the city's Scouts participated... [At the closing ceremonies thanks were given including] to UNICEF for its support of the camps."

[*Al-Ayyam*, July 18, 2003 Exhibit 32]

**5. Song glorifying Idris was broadcast many times on PA TV:**

"My sister Wafa, my sister Wafa  
Oh the heartbeat of pride,  
Oh blossom who was on earth and is now in Heaven. (2x)  
Allahu Akbar! [Allah is greater]  
Oh Palestine of the Arabs,  
Allahu Akbar, Oh Wafa!  
But you chose *Shahada*(Martyrdom)  
In death you have brought life to the aspiration  
But you chose Shahada  
In death you have brought life to the aspiration."

[PA TV (Fatah), first broadcast May 2002 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**6. Fatah named women's course after Wafa Idris:**

"The General Security Forces held a graduation ceremony for the *Shahida* (Martyr) Wafa Idris course, for training Fatah women cadres, organized by the Commission in cooperation with the General Union of Women and the Public Relations Department in the Jenin District."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* (Fatah), July 3, 2005, Exhibit 34]

**Among the many articles of praise for Wafa Idris immediately following her suicide bombing, were the following:**

7. "Rabiha Dhiab, member of the administrative staff of the Palestinian Women Union emphasized that the participation of [Wafa] Idris in the attack shows the determination and the resolve of the Palestinian woman to participate as full partners in the national struggle, alongside her brothers."

[*Al-Ayyam*, Feb. 1, 2002, Exhibit 35]

8. "Recently, the heroine Wafa Idris succeeded in carrying out the bombing in Jerusalem, and subsequently, the Martyr Darin Abu Aisheh [female suicide bomber whose attack in 2002, injured 2]. These actions... attest to the Palestinian woman's capability to perform successful actions."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, March 11, 2002 Exhibit 36]]

9. Attaf Yussuf, a columnist in the media supplement The Women's Voice, wrote after Idris' bombing:

"Palestinian women desire to participate alongside the men in all aspects of the struggle."

[*Al-Quds*, March 1, 2002Exhibit 37]

10. "She [Idris] represents the major role of the Palestinian woman in the national struggle... Ziyad Abu Ayin, a member of the high-ranking Movement Committee of Fatah, delivered a speech in which he praised the heroism of Idris, as a member of the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, which belongs to the Fatah Movement."

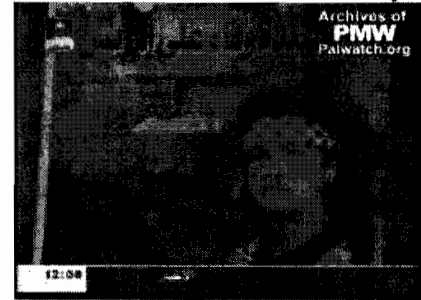
[*Al-Ayyam*, Feb. 1, 2002, Exhibit 38]

**11. PA TV music video honors Wafa Idris alongside Abbas**

A Fatah promotional music video broadcast on PA TV honored Wafa Idris as a Shahida - holy Martyr. This picture of Wafa Idris with the text "The Shahida (Martyr) Wafa Ali Idris" appeared in the PA TV music video, which blended scenes and pictures paying tribute to the PLO, Fatah, Yasser Arafat and PA and Fatah Chairman Mahmoud Abbas.

[PA TV (Fatah),

Dec. 31, 2009, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**12. Football tournament named after Wafa Idris**

*Headline:* "Al-Amari plans to launch the 'Shahida (Martyr) of Honor, Wafa Idris' youth tournament."

"The administration of the Al-Amari youth center has announced its plans to launch a youth tournament (for 20-year-olds) to be named 'Shahida (Martyr) of Honor, Wafa Idris [tournament]'. The Al-Amari administration is maintaining contacts with the Palestinian Football Association for permission. [The tournament] will commence on March 10. Twelve teams will be participating."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Mar. 6, 2011, Exhibit 43A]

The honors that Idris receives by the PA because of her being the first female suicide bomber, continues until today. The current PA Minister of Prisoners' Affairs has honored Idris on more than one occasion.

**13. International Women's day he honored her and other female terrorists "heroism"**

"[PA] Minister of Prisoners' Affairs [Issa Karake]... spoke at a ceremony honoring female prisoners in the occupation's (i.e., Israel's) prisons, held by the Ministry [of Prisoners' Affairs] to mark International Women's Day and Mothers' Day..."

[Karake] stated: 'This is the month of heroism and action for the male and female prisoners, and we must act so that their cause will be the most pre-eminent, like their predecessors, such as Dalal Mughrabi, (female bus hijacker, 37 killed in her attack) Darin Abu Aisheh (female suicide bomber, injured 2), Wafa Idris, and all the female Shahids (Martyrs) and prisoners.'

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Mar. 21, 2011, Exhibit 43B]

**14. PA Minister honors female suicide bomber Wafa Idris with visit to her family**

"[Minister of Prisoners' Affairs, Issa] Karake's statement was made during a visit to the family of prisoner Ahmed Muhammad Ka'abna, who has been serving a life sentence since April 26, 1997... **Karake and a delegation from the Ministry of Prisoners' Affairs... also visited the family of Martyr (Shahida) Wafa Idris**, in the Al-Amari refugee camp, on the occasion of the National Day for Returning the Bodies of the Martyrs, on Aug. 27, 2012. Martyr (Wafa) Idris died a Martyrs' death on Jan. 17, 2002,



and her body is still held in the Israeli numbered cemeteries (i.e., Israeli cemeteries for terrorists). She was a volunteer for the Red Crescent."

[Al-Ayyam, Aug. 30, 2012 Exhibit 43C]

**15. A Fatah official praised the "heroic acts" of terrorists Laila Khaled, Dalal Mughrabi and Wafa Idris**

"Commissioner of the Central Reform Committee of Fatah, Abu Alaa Hamid **extolled the heroic acts of Palestinian women, among them** fighter (terrorist airplane hijacker) Laila Khaled, who confronted the Zionist enemy in the air and captured its pilots; Martyr (Shahida) Dalal Mughrabi, (terrorist bus hijacker whose terror attack killed 37 civilians) who carried out the first sea landing operation in the modern history of the Palestinian revolution; **and Wafa Idris, the first female Martyr-seeker in the Al-Aqsa Intifada.**"

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Dec. 12, 2012 Exhibit 43D]

16. On January 1, 2013, Fatah celebrated "Launch Day," commemorating the 48th anniversary of Fatah's first terror attack. Next to a picture glorifying violence, the page administrator mentions a number of facts about Fatah history that present murderous terror attacks as glorious and heroic, among them:

"Did you know? The first female Martyrdom-seeker to carry out a military operation in the Palestinian Intifada functioned under the command of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade. **It was carried out by Wafa Idris, who was the first girl Martyrdom-seeker of the Al-Aqsa Intifada.**"

[Fatah's Facebook page - Dec. 20, 2012 Exhibit 43E]

**The status of suicide bombers as heroes and role models for youth can be seen by how Fatah continues to honor Idris on its official Facebook page: "Wafa's mother said that she is proud of her daughter and hopes that more girls will follow in her footsteps."**

Picture posted on Fatah's Facebook page with the following description:

"The eleventh anniversary of Wafa Idris' death as a Martyr.. On January 28, 2002 in the city of Jerusalem, a young Palestinian woman working for the Red Crescent (in an ambulance that enabled her to bypass Israeli security) ... Wafa was late in returning, and night fell. Her family began to look for her, and asked some of her girlfriends who said that she had said goodbye to them, and that she had asked them to pray, saying: 'I will do a deed that will make you proud,' but she did not explain what that deed would be. They all remained confused until they found out that Wafa had blown herself up on Jaffa Road (in Jerusalem), killing two Israelis and wounding about one hundred others... Wafa's mother said that when she heard on the media that it could have been a woman who carried out the Martyrdom-seeking operation in Jerusalem and [Wafa] hadn't come back, she thought that this could be the only explanation for her being missing. She added that she is a hero, and said, 'My daughter is a Martyr (Shahida).' ...

This is the hero whose name the Zionists will remember well, and so will Palestinians; the hero who sacrificed herself and her body for Palestine and became a symbol of the struggle and of





Palestinian loyalty through one of the most honorable Martyrdom-seeking operations in recent years, which surprised the Zionist enemy and [through] the self-sacrifice of lovely Palestinian girls for the sake of their homeland. Years have passed since that day, and the name of Wafa Idris is still a lesson that terrifies the Jews.

At least 2,000 Palestinians participated in the symbolic funeral of the first female Martyrdom-seeker who blew herself up in Israel. They marched for Wafa Idris behind an empty wooden coffin through the Al-Amari refugee camp in the West Bank. The coffin was draped in the Palestinian flag and posters of Wafa Idris were put on the walls of the streets in the refugee camp. Participants called 'Wafa is a hero' while armed men fired in the air to salute Wafa. Wafa's mother said that she is proud of her daughter, and hopes that more girls will follow in her footsteps. Wafa - the beautiful flower who, through her Martyrdom-seeking operation, turned upside down Israeli security considerations that had focused on observing young Palestinian men only."

[Fatah's Facebook page, Jan. 27, 2013 Exhibit 43F]

An interesting indicator of how glorification of terrorists impacts on the Palestinian population was both this story and how it was reported by the official PA daily:

"Quadruplets born in Shechem [Nablus] were named Yasser, Arafat, Dalal [Dalal Mughrabi, terrorist bus hijacker whose terror attack killed 37 civilians] and Wafa [Wafa Idris]. These are names that represent to every Palestinian support, assistance and love of the symbols of our just issue."

[PA TV (Fatah), Feb. 19, 2002]

The comment about the significance of the names as "symbols of our just issue" was the official PA daily's comment justifying and glorifying the murders.

### ***Terrorist Abdallah Barghouti***

Terrorist Abdallah Barghouti built the bombs that were used for suicide bombings in the city of Rishon LeZion, at Zion Square and the Hebrew University cafeteria in Jerusalem and more. **In the Hebrew University bombing, on July 31, 2002. Gritz David, Carter Diana, Coulter Ruth, Blutstein Benjamin, whose families are plaintiffs in this lawsuit, were killed in that terror attack.** Barghouti was sentenced to 67 life-terms in prison for the deaths of 66 Israelis, which was the longest sentence given out in Israel's history.

The PA's attitude towards the terrorists who killed large numbers of Israelis can be seen in the article written by PLO Ambassador to India and regular columnist in the official PA daily, Adli Sadeq. He describes the terror attacks of Abdallah Barghouti and other mass murderers as "quality operations." He wrote an article of praise of Hamas for forcing Israel to release over 1000 terrorists from prison to free kidnapped Israeli hostage Gilad Shalit. At the end he added that it was Israeli "fanaticism and extremism" that made Israel refuse to release "fighters who carried out quality operations, such as Abbas Al-Sayid (35 life sentences for deaths of 35 Israelis in suicide bombings he planned), Ibrahim Hamed (45 life sentences for deaths of 46 Israeli in suicide bombings he planned), **Abdallah Barghouti (67 life sentences for deaths of 66 Israelis in suicide bombings)**, and Thaer Hammad (11 life sentences for deaths of 10 Israelis in a shooting ambush) and others."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Oct. 13, 2011 Exhibit 43G]

Most significantly, the PA Minister of Prisoners' Affairs called Abdallah Barghouti and other terrorist prisoners "**Palestinian Authority symbols**" and "heroes." Calling Barghouti and other terrorist murderers "**symbols of the Palestinian Authority**" is not a haphazard term of praise. They were committing murders on behalf of the PA in order to be symbols of the PA.

This is how Issa Karake, Minister of Prisoners' Affairs described them:

"There is a situation of much questioning among the prisoners following the release, following the [Gilad Shalit] exchange deal, and especially the non-inclusion of Palestinian Authority symbols and prisoner symbols, such as Marwan Barghouti (5 life sentences for murders), Ahmad Sa'adat, **Abdallah Barghouti (67 life sentences for deaths of 66 Israelis in suicide bombings)**, Abbas Al-Sayid (35 life sentences for deaths of 35 Israelis in suicide bombings he planned)... and other heroes and fighters."

[PA TV (Fatah), Oct. 17, 2011]

Another article in the official PA newspaper discussing comments by members of Barghouti's family, likewise referred to him and other terrorists as "heroic":

"Family members of prisoners expressed heartfelt thanks to the directorate and staff of Voice of the Prisoners Radio, via the program 'On Birds' Wings'... The families of prisoners in solitary confinement, first and foremost the family of the prisoner Commander Ahmad Sa'adat, **and the heroic prisoners Abbas and Abdallah Barghouti**, Mahmoud Issa, Jamal Abu Al-Haija, Hassan Salameh and others, said that their sons wait for the program."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Apr. 13, 2011, Exhibit 43H]

#### ***Terrorist Ibrahim Hamed***

Terrorist Ibrahim Hamed was one of the planners of the suicide bombing at the Hebrew University cafeteria in Jerusalem on July 31, 2002. **Gritz David, Carter Diana, Coulter Ruth, Blutstein Benjamin, whose families are plaintiffs in this lawsuit, were killed in that bombing.** Hamed was sentenced to 45 life sentences for deaths of 46 Israeli in suicide bombings he planned. His name was already cited in the article cited above written by the Palestinian Ambassador to India who referred to him and other terrorists as "fighters who carried out quality operations."

[See full article above, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Oct. 13, 2011 Exhibit 43G]

The position of honor given to Hamed by the Palestinian Authority can be seen in that PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas himself singled Hamed out at the time of the prisoner exchange mentioned above, hoping of his release:

#### **Abbas' speech on the day of the release of 1000 terrorist prisoners, as broadcast on PA TV:**

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. We thank Allah that [you have returned] in peace, that you have returned safe and sound to your families, to your brothers, to your communities, after the enforced absence which was imposed on you ... And the rest, Allah willing, will be [freed] soon, very soon. Allah willing, soon we will see here brother Marwan Barghouti (5 life sentences for murders), brother Ahmad Sa'adat, to whom we wish a speedy recovery. And we want to see, Allah willing, **Ibrahim Hamed (45 life sentences for deaths of 46 Israeli in suicide bombings he planned)**, also, and Abbas Al-Sayid (35 life sentences for deaths of 35 Israelis in

suicide bombings he planned), and every male and female prisoner, returning, released, to the homeland, Allah willing."

[Palestinian TV (Fatah), Oct. 18, 2011, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**Official PA TV also honored Hamed by visiting his home and interviewing family members, and broadcast the statement of his sister "We are proud of you, your gallantry and valor, my dear":**

**PA TV host:** "Dear viewers, our program has visited the family of our brother, prisoner Ibrahim Hamed."

[PA TV host embraces members of the terrorist's family.]

**[Song played in background:]** "I will die for the sake of the soil. Is there any other [homeland] like this?"

[Text beside picture of Ibrahim Hamed:] "For you, our brave prisoners."

**Hamed's sister:** "He was sentenced to 54 life sentences, a very harsh sentence. Because of their hatred, they didn't know what sentence they should give him. When they read out the sentence, he smiled, completely satisfied and calm. We are proud of you, your gallantry and valor, my dear."

[PA TV (Fatah), Oct. 26, 2012, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

A song and video performed by the Alashekeen Palestinian National Band dedicated to Palestinian terrorist prisoners (referred to as "**our brave prisoners**") chose to honor the arch-terrorists among them by showing their picture on the screen. The video was broadcast on PA TV repeatedly: First on May 7, 2012, then 11 more times in 2012 and twice on Jan. 30, 2013. Text on screen: "Dedicated by the Alashekeen band to our brave prisoners."

Clip of Mahmoud Abbas speech: "We will not rest until all [prisoners] are freed, and the prisons are emptied."

**Lyrics of song:** "We are pledged to the promise and the revolution. Our hearts are full of faith. Pictures of terrorists are shown, among them: **Ibrahim Hamed**."

[PA TV (Fatah), May 7, 2012 - Jan. 30, 2012, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

### ***Terrorists Wisam Al-Abbasi, Muhammad Ouda, Alaa Al-Din Al-Abbasi***

In May 2012 the PA chose to glorify terrorist prisoners serving multiple life sentences for planning suicide bombings that murdered many Israelis. The TV crew visited the homes and interviewed family members of three terrorists of the "Silwan cell," which was responsible for terror attacks in 2002, including: - Hebrew University cafeteria, 9 killed, Moment Cafe in Jerusalem, 11 killed, Sheffield Club in Rishon LeZion, 15 killed. **Gritz David, Carter Diana, Coulter Ruth, Blutstein Benjamin, whose families are plaintiffs in this lawsuit, were killed in the Hebrew University bombing.**

The terrorists of the "Silwan cell" whose homes were visited by PA TV were

1. Wisam Al-Abbasi, sentenced to 26 life sentences and another 40 years
2. Muhammad Ouda, sentenced to 9 life sentences and another 40 years
3. Alaa Al-Din Al-Abbasi, sentenced to 60 years

The mother of the terrorist Wisam Al-Abbasi who is serving 26 life-sentences said on TV:





**"I am proud and pride myself on having a son in prison."**

The father-in-law of terrorist Alaa Al-Abbasi who is serving 60 years told PATV:

**"I always remember Alaa - a person of exalted moral values."**

***The following is the transcript of the PA TV's visit to the homes of terrorist prisoners:***

**PA TV host:** "More than 250 prisoners from Jerusalem are held in the occupation's prisons, most of them on a hunger strike. It is our duty to visit the families of some of the prisoners, to hear from them and **to see how they encourage their children to continue in the path of their struggle** against the Israeli occupation.

The first prisoner from Silwan, Jerusalem, whom we wish to visit is Wisam Al-Abbasi, who was given 26 life sentences and another 40 years. In other words, in total he is meant to serve 2,614 years in the occupation's prisons."

***In the home of prisoner Wisam Al-Abbasi:***

**Host:** "Hello, how are you?"

**Mother:** "I'm the mother of prisoner Wisam Al-Abbasi, who was given 26 life sentences and another 40 years. **I am proud and pride myself on having a son in prison.**"

***In the home of prisoner Muhammad Ouda:***

**Host:** "We are visiting now the home of another prisoner from Jerusalem, Muhammad Ouda. Ouda has been imprisoned in the occupation's prisons for more than 10 years, and was sentenced to 9 life sentences and another 40 years."

***In the home of prisoner Alaa Al-Din Al-Abbasi:***

**Wife:** "He was sentenced to 60 years. We were told [he was one of] the four men of the Silwan cell."

**Father-in-law:** "I always remember Alaa - **a person of exalted moral values.**"

[PA TV (Fatah), May 18, 2012, Exhibit 1, DVD]

***Terrorist Nasser Al-Shawish***

Terrorist Nasser Al-Shawish is serving 4 life sentences for his responsibility in 3 suicide bombing attacks. He recruited two women who helped a suicide bomber into Jerusalem, in 2002. **Allan and Yehonathon Bauer, plaintiffs in this case, were injured in that bombing.**

One of the ways PA TV promotes the status of terrorists in prison and creates sympathy for them is by interviewing their family members including their children. In one program PA TV interviewed the families of terrorist prisoners from Nablus and praised all of them. Among them was the family of Nasser Al-Shawish:

PA TV host to mother of terrorist Kayed Kalbounah, serving a life sentence:

"I always imagine that the status of the prisoners in the eyes of the Lord of the Worlds is, Allah willing, is like the status of the Shahids (Martyrs)."

Host interviews family of prisoner Amal Jum'a, who was arrested the day before she planned to carry out a suicide attack. She then interviews the family of Amir Dhukan (serving 6 life

sentences + 20 years) and says:

Host: "I want to send greetings to Amir; Amir is a beloved brother, of course; a beloved friend."

Host interviews daughter of Nasser Al-Shawish (serving four life sentences, responsible for three suicide terror attacks):

Host: "How do you view your father?"

Daughter: "I am proud of him, because he is a poet. May Allah liberate him. He fought for the sake of his homeland, and defended his homeland."

Host interviews family of prisoner Majed Al-Masri (serving 10 life sentences), calling him "our fighter prisoner brother, Majed Al-Masri."

Host interviews family of prisoner Ibrahim Al-Taqtuq, most veteran prisoner from the Nablus district (serving four life sentences), and sends her greetings to him.

Niece of Al-Taqtuq: "We love you very much, and are proud of you."

Host: "Of course, my dear; we are all proud of him, of course, not only his family."

[PA TV (Fatah), Sept. 22, 2011,]

In June 2012, the PA Minister Prisoners' Affairs, Issa Karake himself, honored Nasser Al-Shawish by visiting his family. [PA TV (Fatah), June 8, 2012,]

Also in June 2012, PA TV reported about the Al-Shawish family. Significantly, PA TV coined this family - with 3 sons in prison for terror offenses and a fourth son a "Martyr" – "a Palestinian family par excellence." One son is serving, 4 life sentences, one 10 life sentences and the third is serving 11 years:

"In the village of Aqaba, in the western Tubas region lives the Abu Shawish family. This family, which experiences the bitterness of pain every day, is a Palestinian family par excellence. [The family] has three sons in the occupation's prisons, and a fourth son is a Martyr (Shahid)."

[PA TV (Fatah), June 15, 2012, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

Another time PA TV interviewed the mother of the three Al-Shawish terrorist-prisoners. She said:

"I praise Allah that my children are going on this path, and I am proud of them."

[PA TV (Fatah), Dec. 25, 2012 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

### ***Terrorist Qahira Al-Sa'adi***

As mentioned, terrorist Nasser Al-Shawish recruited two women who helped the suicide bomber into Jerusalem, in the bombing in which **Allan and Yehonathon Bauer, plaintiffs in this case, were injured**. Both of those terrorists have also been honored by the PA.

**Qahira Al-Sa'adi** is one of those female terrorists and she was honored by the PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad himself, along with other female terrorists, on International Women's day:

"The Prime Minister congratulated the Palestinian mothers for their leading and prominent role, alongside the men... He said, 'On this occasion, I will not fail to mention with honor and admiration the resolve of the female prisoners, the fighters, and of all the prisoners of freedom who are imprisoned in the Israeli prisons, experiencing

indescribable suffering... I make special mention of all the women prisoners who are mothers: Iman Ghazawi, who has been imprisoned for ten years; **Qahira Al-Sa'adi**; Irena Sarahneh; Latifa Abu Dhiraa..."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Mar. 24, 2011 Exhibit 43 I]

The PA TV host sent greetings of "love" to female terrorists including **Qahira Al-Sa'adi**.

PA TV host: "[To] all the female prisoners: Qahira Al-Sa'adi, Amna Mona, Irena Sarahneh, Sanabel Bureik, Ahlam Tamimi, Abir Odeh, Amal Jum'a, all the female prisoners, without a doubt, I love you, happy holidays [Eid Al-Fitr]."

[PA TV (Fatah), Aug. 30, 2011]

One of the terrorists PA TV sent "love" to was Ahlam Tamimi, the female terrorist who both planned and walked the suicide bomber to the Sbarro pizza shop in Jerusalem where he murdered 15 Israelis, 8 of them children. Five members of one family were killed: the two parents and their three children.

#### **Terrorist Sanna Shehadeh**

The second female terrorist who helped the **Nasser Al-Shawish** was **Sanna Shehadeh**, who brought the suicide terrorist to Jerusalem. Three civilians were killed and dozens wounded in the attack, and Shehadeh is serving 3 life sentences.



The weekly PA TV program "In a Fighter's Home" visited terrorist Shehadeh's home, and broadcast her father saying how proud he is of his daughter:

"I am the father of the hero of Jerusalem, Sanna Shehadeh ... I am proud of my daughter Sanaa, and say that she is a heroine... I call her the 'heroine of Al-Quds' [Jerusalem], and sometimes 'the heroine of Palestine'."

[PA TV (Fatah), December 23, 2010 and Jan. 26- 27, 2011, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

PA TV also visited her home a second time in May 2010. [PA TV (Fatah), May 28, 2010, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

Another time they invited Shehadeh's mother to PA TV together with mothers of other female terrorists. [PA TV (Fatah), Mar. 21, 2011]

#### **Terrorist Ahmad Barghouti**

Terrorist Ahmad Barghouti planned suicide bombings that murdered seven Israelis in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in 2002. He is serving seven life sentences. In addition he drove a terrorist from Ramallah to Jerusalem to commit a shooting attack on Israeli civilians. Shmuel Waldman and Shayna Gould were injured in that attack.

Secretary of the PLO Executive Committee and head of PA TV, Yasser Abd Rabbo, visited the home of Barghouti and sent, "his love and his esteem" from PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas. He also justified the "path" of the terrorist: "**This is our path. There is no other.**"



**Yasser Abd Rabbo, Secretary of the PLO Executive Committee:**

"I am honored to be here [at the prisoner's home] today. I am honored that a short time ago I met with **[President] Mahmoud Abbas. I also convey his greetings, his love and his esteem for you. This is our path. There is no other.**"

PA TV twice broadcast this visit in which Abbas' expressed **"his love and his esteem"** for Barghouti. [PA TV (Fatah), Jan. 20, 2010, July 29, 2010 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**Terrorist Nasser Aweis (Awais)**

Terrorist Nasser Aweis (Awais) is serving 14 life sentences for planning and/or carrying out terrorist attacks in which 13 civilians were murdered. He planned the attack on a Bat Mitzva celebration (for 12 year old girls) in which 6 were killed and also the shooting attack on civilians in Jerusalem on January 22, 2002, in which 2 were killed and 45 injured. Among the injured were Shayna Gould and Shmuel Waldman, plaintiffs in this case.

Official PA TV chose to honor Awais by dedicating its program for prisoners to him. PA TV twice called him "the heroic fighter," and different texts on the screen glorified him twice as "Heroic prisoner"; "you achieved the most outstanding heroism"; and, "you are towering like the steady mountains." The following is the text on the screen honoring him:

PA TV host: "We dedicate this program to our brothers, the prisoners, and of course, to the heroic fighter, prisoner Nasser Awais... to the prisoner Ahmed Abu Khader... for their valor and for defending the homeland, Palestine."

PA TV host: "Viewers and our brothers, the prisoners, the following is info about the heroic fighter, prisoner Nasser Awais."

Text under terrorist's photos: "Heroic prisoner, Nasser, arrested on April 13, 2002, sentenced to 14 life sentences, 50 years and 6 months. Through your patience and resilience you achieved the most outstanding heroism. Heroic prisoner Nasser Awais, from the Balata refugee camp, Nablus, you are towering like the steady mountains."

[PA TV (Fatah), June 30, 2012]

[PA TV (Fatah), June 30, 2012, 2010 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

A song and video (cited above) performed by the Alashekeen Palestinian National Band dedicated to Palestinian terrorist prisoners (referred to as **"our brave prisoners"**) chose to single out some terrorists for extra honor by showing their pictures on the screen. The video was broadcast on PA TV repeatedly: First on May 7, 2012, then 11 more times in 2012 and twice on Jan. 30, 2013 and included the picture of Nasser Awais.

Text on screen: "Dedicated by the Alashekeen band to our brave prisoners."

Clip of Mahmoud Abbas speech: "We will not rest until all [prisoners] are freed, and the prisons are emptied."

**Lyrics of song:** "We are pledged to the promise and the revolution. Our hearts are full of faith.

Pictures of terrorists are shown, among them: **Nasser Awais.**

[PA TV (Fatah), May 7, 2012 - Jan. 30, 2012, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**Understanding PA "condemnations" of terror**

This vigorous, emphatic and continuous terror glorification of the Palestinian Authority must be contrasted with the bland official so-called "condemnations" of terror issued by the PA

immediately following some of the Palestinian terrorist attacks during the intifada. There are many reasons not to treat the PA official condemnations as authentic expression of the PA policy at the time.

First, the language itself has to be contrasted with the euphoric glorification of terror, including the eternalizing the terrorists by the naming of events, streets and school after them, as documented above. The long drawn out PA official statements which included "condemnation" of a specific terror attack were often primarily condemnations of Israel and somewhere hidden in the text was the so-called condemnation.

The following is one such example. On April 12, 2002, suicide bomber Andalib Takatka detonated an explosive belt at a Jerusalem bus stop, killing 6 and wounding 60. The next day Yasser Arafat "condemned" the attack with an official statement to the news services published by WAFA, the Palestinian news agency. A careful reading shows that it was hardly a condemnation of the terror and primarily a condemnation of all violence especially from Israel. The following is the first part of the text:

Headline: "Announcement on behalf of the President and Palestinian leadership: Condemnation of all acts of terror against civilians, whether Israeli or Palestinian, whether the terror is state terror or [terror] by groups and individuals"

"President Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian leadership express their condemnation of all terror attacks against civilians, whether Israeli or Palestinian, and whether the terror is state terror or [terror] by groups and individuals. This comes from a resolved principal that opposes turning to violence and terror against civilians [and using it] as a means of achieving political goals.

**"Based on this position – which we declared since 1988, and at the time of the Oslo Accords signing in the White House, and which we have repeated several times, including on December 16, 2001 and afterwards, and we did not find any Israeli response to it, only military escalation, stifling siege, continuous occupation of our people, our refugee camps, our cities and our villages, and a comprehensive destruction of our infrastructure – we severely condemn the acts of violence against Israeli civilians, and specifically, the last action in Jerusalem.** We also firmly and strongly condemn massacres committed by the occupation forces and still being committed against civilians and Palestinian refugees in the city and in the Jenin refugee camp, and against the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and other Palestinian territories last two weeks.

We call on the international community, the Security Council and Mr. Colin Powell, who is fulfilling an international role for peace, to keep abreast of the massacres that befell our people because of the Israeli occupation and the determination of Israeli government to suppress the aspirations of our people for freedom and independence through military force, tanks, planes, missiles, mortars and machine guns..."

[Wafa, April 13, 2002, Bates 07-001-011 Arabic Docs and SHD Docs 060412, Exhibit 43 J]

The "condemnation" then continues for another two paragraphs without any additional reference to the suicide terror attack this PA release was supposedly condemning. The only "condemnation" of the suicide terror attack that killed 6 people was at the end of a long and

cumbersome sentence condemning Israeli behavior, only referring to the terror attack as “the last action in Jerusalem.” (See the bolded section above).

Finally – why did the PA issue “condemnations” if they were not sincere and if it was not the message they wanted to deliver to their people?

The answer can be found in the words of then senior Palestinian Authority official Muhammad Dahlan, then a close aide of Arafat and Head of Preventive Security in Gaza. On the day of the terror attack whose “condemnation” is cited above, Dahlan explained that the PA did not intend to condemn the attack but that the US government had asked them to:

“[Muhammad] Dahlan (then Head of Preventive Security in Gaza, an Arafat appointee) confirmed that the American government had asked President Arafat and the [Palestinian] National Authority to condemn the attack which took place yesterday afternoon in west Jerusalem... “I don’t believe we intend to condemn any event before the occupation is removed from the Palestinian people’s back.”

[Al-Quds, April 13, 2002, Exhibit 43 K]

The next day, however, Arafat did accept the American request and issued the above “condemnation.” The incongruity is very great: At the very same time that sporting events were being named after suicide bombers, Arafat was telling the international community that he was against the terror and violence and “condemning” it. It is important to understand why Arafat was following these American dictates and why it was impossible for Arafat to deny these requests. Then as now the PA was dependent on international financial aid. Even today the PA cannot pay monthly salaries to all its employees without the foreign aid it receives. Accordingly, even during the terror campaign, the PA had the ongoing political need to tell the world it was fighting against the terror. These condemnations were Arafat’s lip service to the “fight against terror” that he himself was directing, in order to continue receiving international financial aid. And he was successful. Most of the international donors continued to give financial support to the PA all during the terror campaign they led.

Indeed, it seems likely that some of that funding financing the terror campaign itself. Sultan Abu Al-Einein, currently an advisor to PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, also a Member of Fatah’s Central Committee and former Fatah Secretary General in Lebanon, praised Arafat’s successful duplicitous strategy vis-à-vis the international community during a television interview, explaining that Arafat “condemned” the same terror attacks that he financed:

“Yasser Arafat used to condemn Martyrdom operations (i.e., suicide attacks). He used to condemn these operations in very severe terms, but at the same time, it is clearly determined that the Martyr Yasser Arafat financed these military operations.”

[Al-Quds, April 6, 2009 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

The same Dahlan cited above likewise also made reference to the false nature of Arafat’s “condemnations”. During an interview on PA TV in which he justified violence against Israel as “a legal right,” but stressing that it had to be used wisely for political gain, and therefore had to be led by the leadership, he then referred to Arafat’s “condemnations”:

Muhammad Dahlan, Head of Preventive Security in Gaza during the intifada, an Arafat appointee, on how Arafat condemned terror attacks while supporting them:



"Regarding negotiations with Israel, we have to set a logical time limit of two years, in my opinion. The political plan guarantees the continuation of our national struggle in all its forms, in a way that will fulfill our national aspirations within this period of time."

PA TV host: "If so, the [violent] resistance and struggle continue."

Muhammad Dahlan: "This is our right, a legal right. The international community affirms it for us. But it is the responsibility of the leadership to use it when it wants, in the proper place and at the proper time. We cannot leave it in the hands of youth who use their own judgment. This is the difference between [PA] using this right and just anyone using it. I lived with Chairman Yasser Arafat for years. Arafat would condemn operations (i.e., terror attacks) by day while at night he would do honorable things. I don't want to say any more about this."

[PA TV (Fatah), July 22, 2009 Exhibit 1 - DVD]



To conclude, the only way to make any sense of the conflicting messages from the PA, the "condemnations" of terror and the same time that terrorists were glorified, honored and eternalized by the PA, is to understand that the so-called "condemnations by the PA and by Yasser Arafat were in response to American and other international demands. As a political necessity, Arafat was willing to issue elaborate condemnations of Israeli actions and slip in a condemnation of Palestinian actions or operations. His duplicity as stated was successful. His own people understood this duplicity and continued to launch terror attacks, and continued to be seen as heroes, through all the years of the intifada. And the international community continued the funding.

An additional indicator of the Palestinian Authority glorifying terrorists as well as accepting responsibility for terror is their financial support for terrorists who were imprisoned. In 2011 Palestinian Media Watch released a report documenting that all Palestinian terrorist prisoners in Israeli jails receive a monthly salary from the Palestinian Authority. The average prisoner's salary is even higher than civil servants and military personnel. The paying of high monthly salaries to prisoners is another example of the Palestinian Authority both taking responsibility for the terrorists as well as honoring them until today for acts they committed on behalf of the PA. (See Exhibit 42 A)

Recently, when foreign governments asked for clarification regarding paying salaries to terrorist the PA responded that they were social welfare payments to the families. To this the PA Minister of Prisoners responded that it was not social welfare but out of "esteem" for the terrorists:

"[Minister of Prisoners' Affairs Issa] **Karake denies rumors about changing salaries (Arabic: *rawatib*) into social assistance (Arabic: *i'anat ijtima'iyah*)**... He noted that the government headed by Salam Fayyad considers the prisoners' cause central, and has authorized regulations to support and protect them **out of esteem for their sacrifice and struggle.**"

[WAFA (the official Palestinian Authority news agency), Dec. 27, 2012 Exhibit 43 L]

#### **4. Palestinian Authority leaders' acknowledge PA responsibility and control over the Intifada (2000-2005) and direction of the terror attacks**

Many Palestinian Authority leaders have publicly acknowledged that the PA led by Yasser Arafat was behind the second Intifada, 2000-2005, and have designated the PA as responsible for its violence, killings and terror attacks, which they call legitimate "resistance" or sometimes merely "actions."

Current Chairman of the PA, Mahmoud Abbas, stated explicitly during a TV interview, that those individual Palestinians who killed Israelis during the Intifada, were envoys of the PA and its leadership, *people sent to kill on their orders*. According to the statement by Abbas during the 2005 interview, all the terrorists, including those who killed, were following the PA leaders' orders, and therefore they should be released from Israeli prisons. His main arguments were:

1. The prisoners, even those who killed Israeli civilians, are not criminals but envoys of the PA leadership. And since the leaders who are ultimately responsible are not in prison but are free and even meeting Israelis at negotiations, it is not logical that the ones who merely carried out their orders should be in prison.

2. Abbas says the period of the intifada was a typical period of war and Palestinians who killed Israelis, even civilians, were no different than Israeli soldiers who killed Palestinians. Every Palestinian who killed is like every Israeli soldier. They both carried out orders from their leadership.

It is clear from his statement the PA and Arafat stood at the top of the pyramid, directing the terror from afar and seeing all terrorists as their envoys and all terrorist attacks as legitimate acts of war.

#### **PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas: The PA ordered the terrorists to kill**

**Abbas:** I demand [the release of] prisoners because they are human beings, who did what we, we, ordered them to do. We - the [Palestinian] Authority. They should not be punished while we sit at one table negotiating. Besides, they spent many years in prison. How much longer? Do they have to spend all their life in prison and even die there?

[Skipping a minute: Abbas talks about the Palestinian state and Israel's security]

**Host:**How can we deal with their [Israeli] criteria "bloodstained hands (for Palestinians who killed)?"

**Abbas:**Such talk is illogical talk and I do not accept it. What does a bloodstained hand mean? We were fighting each other. They kill and kill. They hunt down people with planes and tanks and killed. The soldier who kills 50 or 20 persons here and there - are his hands stained with talc powder? They are stained with blood. This is war. One (i.e., Israel) ordered a soldier to kill, I ordered my son, brother, or others, to carry out the duty of resistance (i.e., euphemism for terror). This person killed and the other person killed. So why say this person's hands are stained with blood, and [he] must be kept in prison? He is a fighter just like any other fighter. We were in a state of fighting. When a truce is reached in any country in the world, the past is forgotten.



[Skipping half a minute: Abbas repeats the need to release prisoners]

What meaning is there to peace with the Israelis if the wanted continues to be wanted, the prisoner continues to be imprisoned, and the deportee continues to be deported? What am I worth in the eyes of the ordinary [Palestinian] citizen? The ordinary citizen will ask me: "What did you get me? You ordered me - you are responsible for me."

[PA TV (Fatah), Feb. 14, 2005, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

After the Intifada started in 2000, throughout the years of conflict and since it ended in 2005, different PA leaders have recognized and confirmed that Yasser Arafat, leader of the PA was responsible for planning and directing the terror campaign.

**Mazen Izz Al-Din, then Deputy Director of the PA's Political and National Education Authority: The Intifada belongs to Arafat**

**"The Al-Aqsa Intifada - if we want to be truthful and open, history will reveal one day - that it [the Intifada] and all its directives belong to the President and Supreme Commander Yasser Arafat."**

[PA TV (Fatah), May 28, 2002 Exhibit 1 - DVD]



**Ashraf Al-Ajrami, former PA Minister of Prisoners: The Intifada "belongs to Yasser Arafat alone"**

Criticizing Hamas for wrongly taking the credit for running the Intifada, Ashraf Al-Ajrami stated that the Intifada was run by Arafat and his security forces:

**"The master of resistance is, without doubt and without question, the *Shahid* (Martyr) Yasser Arafat. Even this Intifada, whose flag Hamas has tried to wave unjustly, forcibly, falsely and fraudulently - that [Intifada] flag belongs to Yasser Arafat alone... These [Palestinian Authority security] forces paid the heavy price in the second Intifada, both as Martyrs (*Shahids*) and as prisoners. The greatest number of prisoners is from the security forces sector. They are the ones who bore arms and carried out the greatest and most important operations (i.e., terror attacks) against the Israeli occupation - and especially against soldiers, and some of the most famous operations (i.e., terror attacks) in the West Bank - Ein-Arik, Wadi Al-Haramiyeh, Sorda, and others. These were carried out by the heroes of the Palestinian**





**security forces, who protected the homeland and the national interest, while Hamas merely looked on for many months before embarking [on operations]."**

[PA TV (Fatah), June 29, 2009 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**Arafat's Advisor on Internal Affairs and member of the Palestinian Supreme National Security Council, Mamdouh Nawfal on Arafat's desire for a military Intifada:**

"During his [Arafat's] period, the Palestinian people broke out in two Intifadas against the occupation. In the first of them, the [Palestinian] leadership did not play a role in its [the first Intifada's] outbreak, but Arafat cleverly rode on its wave and directed it from afar... whereas to **the second Intifada**, one could say with complete objectivity that **Arafat exploited Sharon's visit** to the Temple Mount, and the people's hatred of the occupation, **to bring about the outburst... Arafat made no attempt to evade responsibility when he was blamed for its eruption and did not hesitate turning it into a military [Intifada]...**"

[From a book by Mamdouh Nawfal, Arafat's advisor on Internal Affairs, member of Palestinian Supreme National Security Council, *Al-Hayat* (London), Nov. 12, 2005  
Exhibit 44]

**Muhammad Dahlan, then head of one of the PA security forces: Arafat and security services initiated and directed the Intifada**

Responding to comments by Hamas leader Mahmoud Al-Zahar, who claimed that Hamas carried out attacks during the Intifada at Arafat's request, indicating coordination between Fatah and Hamas, Muhammad Dahlan, insisted that Arafat and his security services were the ones who initiated and were the prime movers of the Intifada and had no need of Hamas:

**PA TV host:** "Yesterday or the day before, Mahmoud Al-Zahar, the Hamas leader, said that they [Hamas] used to carry out operations (i.e., terror attacks) at the request of the late President, Yasser Arafat. In other words, there was high-level coordination [between Fatah and Hamas]. What is your response to that?"

**Dahlan:** "I'm not surprised at these reckless statements by Al-Zahar... These are not the words of a responsible person, or a person who appreciates what responsibility is. It's also humiliating because the President, Arafat, didn't lack fighters. **In the Intifada, when Arafat wanted something, he asked his security services, 40% of which were either killed, Martyrs (*Shahids*) or prisoners.** I want to take advantage of this opportunity to express all our love, honor and gratitude for the role of those brothers who died as *Shahids* in the second Intifada from among Fatah and from among the Palestinian civilians and fighters, who defended our national rights. And also those who

have paid a heavy price in the Israeli prisons, first and foremost Marwan Barghouti, who served as the example and the symbol of this Intifada, while Hamas was still hiding, thinking that **Arafat brought about the Intifada** because he wanted to cover up the secret agreement that had been drawn up at Camp David. Those are Al-Zahar's statements, by the way... **The second Intifada** - Hamas joined it late. **We [the PLO and PA security services] are the ones who started it."**

[PA TV (Fatah), Sept. 28, 2010 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**ImadFaluji, then PA Minister of Communications: Arafat had been planning the Intifada since he returned from the failed Camp David talks in 2000:**

"Whoever thinks that the Intifada started because of the hated Sharon's visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque is mistaken. That was only the straw breaking the Palestinian people's patience. **This Intifada was already planned since [Arafat] the President returned from the recent talks at Camp David [July 2000]."**



[Recording of speech by Faluji, unknown source, Dec. 5, 2000 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**ImadFaluji, then PA Minister of Communications: Arafat instructed the PA to prepare the Intifada**

"ImadFaluji, PA Minister of Communications stressed that **the PA began the preparations and to get ready for the outbreak of the current Intifada since the return from the negotiations at Camp David at the request of President Yasser Arafat**, who expected it [to be] the stage complementing the Palestinian resolve in the negotiations, and not just as a protest to [Israeli Parliament Member Ariel] Sharon's visit to the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem (i.e., the Temple Mount)... **Faluji said that the PA made the factions and political forces responsible for directing the Intifada.** ... He emphasized that the Intifada would continue and that it will inevitably bring about a new reality which will be nothing other than an 'independent state.' Faluji did not rule out the possibility that the PA would turn into a (violent) resistance enterprise because of the continued Israeli arrogance and stubbornness."

[Al-Ayyam, Dec. 6, 2000Exhibit 45]

**Bakr Abu-Bakr, member of Fatah Revolutionary Council and regular columnist for official PA daily: Arafat ignited the Intifada**

"He [Arafat] refused to give in, just as he rejected the billions that [US President Bill] Clinton promised him. **Arafat came back [from the Camp David talks] and ignited the Al-Aqsa Intifada (2000-2004),** and paid for it with his life."

[Op-ed, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Nov. 11, 2010 Exhibit 46]

**AdliSadeq, PLO Ambassador to India and regular columnist for official PA daily:**

"On the Palestinian level, no one disagrees that the armed struggle is difficult, or impossible, under the current conditions. Our obligation right now is to prevent the violation of our commitment to a work plan which will maintain public order, protect society from disruptions, and allow the political players to compensate for the abstention from the most noble means of resistance (when it is strategically possible) -i.e., the armed struggle - by means of advantages and achievements in our political standing. ... The armed forces and groups, wherever they may be, must gather together under the flag of the national entity, with their weapons and with their vision, and must willingly forego their ability to coerce on the internal level. The use of resistance as an excuse is not convincing; Palestinian experience has shown us that when the moment of resistance arrives, whether the estimates are mistaken or accurate, **it is the legitimate leadership that will be on the frontlines, and that is who will push society into the conflict - as happened in the lengthy second Intifada, when the [PA] security services and Hamas fought together.**"

[Op-ed, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, May 11, 2011 Exhibit 47]

**Suha Arafat, Arafat's wife: Arafat "had decided to carry out an Intifada":**

**Suha Arafat:** "On the personal level, I miss him very, very much. [Our daughter] Zahwa also misses him, you can't imagine. She didn't know him. She knows that Arafat sent us away before the [Israeli] invasion of Ramallah. He said: 'You have to leave Palestine, because **I want to carry out an Intifada**, and I'm not prepared to shield myself behind my wife and little girl.' Everyone said: 'Suha abandoned him,' but I didn't abandon him. **He ordered me to leave him because he had already decided to carry out an Intifada after the Oslo Accords and after the failure of Camp David [July 2000].**"

[PA TV (Fatah), Nov. 12, 2011 Exhibit 1 - DVD]



**Ziyad Abu Ein, PA Deputy Minister of Prisoners Affairs: Oslo gave Palestinians the tools to "create the great Intifada":**

"The Oslo Accords are not the dream of the Palestinian people. However, there would never have been [violent] resistance in Palestine without Oslo. Oslo is the effective and potent greenhouse which embraced the Palestinian resistance. Without Oslo, there would never have been [violent] resistance. In all the occupied territories, we could not move a single pistol from place to place. **Without Oslo, and being armed through Oslo, and without the Palestinian Authority's "A" areas, without the training, the camps, the protection afforded by Oslo, and without the freeing of thousands of Palestinian prisoners through Oslo - we and this Palestinian resistance would not have been able to create this great Palestinian Intifada.**"

[Al-Alam TV, July 4, 2006Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**Muhammad Dahlan, then head of one of the PA security forces, on how PA security forces aided hid and protected Hamas military leaders and fighters during the Intifada:**

"Forty percent of the Martyrs in this Intifada belonged to the Palestinian [Authority] security forces. The Palestinian security forces were those who protected and hid half of the Hamas leadership and of the Hamas military force during the Intifada.

[Al-Arabiya TV (Dubai/Saudi Arabia), June 16, 2007Exhibit 1 - DVD]

**AdliSadeq, PLO Ambassador to India and regular columnist for official PA daily: During the Intifada the PA permitted use of weapons**

"[During the Intifada] the [Palestinian] Authority gave free rein, maintained unity among all the forces (i.e., PA, Fatah, Hamas and others) in the struggle, permitted [use of] weapons, and showed defiance... In the penultimate chapter, without any rest, brothers who are our partners in the blood tax (i.e., Hamas) fell upon the Palestinian [Authority] entity which unites us, murdering and engaging in accusations of treason. They justified their actions with the claim that their brothers (i.e., Fatah) were collaborators. Were the opposite not the case, there would have been no Al-Aqsa Intifada! When the results forced us to return to the option of politics and national resolve upon the land, unity was withheld from us [by Hamas]... the strategic aims of the occupiers (i.e., Israel) having been, and still being, to destroy our ability to realize the two opposite options: politics and resistance!"

[Op-ed,Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, April 10, 2011,Exhibit 50]

**Mamdouh Nawfal, Arafat's Advisor on Internal Affairs and member of the Palestinian Supreme National Security Council:**

**"Yasser Arafat summoned the Palestinian leadership for an emergency meeting in Ramallah the day before the visit [by Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount] on Aug. 28, 2000 and said: '... The battle for Jerusalem began with the Camp David summit, and Sharon's [planned] visit has brought it to here. Jerusalem is in danger, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque is in danger, and as Allah is my witness, I make this known.' [Arafat] spoke with the knowledge that Jerusalem is a special place for the Palestinian nation for the Arab people and Islam, and with full conviction that it would be easy to involve the Palestinian and Arab street and to motivate them to participate in a battle of defense for Jerusalem and the holy places. He was certain that the masses of believers would hurry to the defense of Al-Aqsa... In its statement, the leadership called upon the Palestinian people everywhere to join forces and to unite in the battle in defense of Jerusalem... [Arafat] noted that the Palestinians were capable of defending the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the places holy to Arabs and to Christians and Muslims, and that no-one can escape his destiny. He said, 'Our destiny is to finish one battle only to enter the next', and quoted the *hadith* that the people in Jerusalem and around Jerusalem conduct *Ribat* (i.e., religious war/conflict in defense of Islamic land) there until the Day of Judgment. Arafat waxed eloquent on the special status of Jerusalem among Palestinians and among all the peoples of Arabia and Islam, and was certain that it would be possible to enlist with ease the Palestinian and Arab street to take part in the battle in defense of Jerusalem and of the places holy to Islam and to Christianity, and especially Al-Aqsa Mosque. He said, 'The believers will hurry to the defense of Al-Aqsa.'"**

[Al-Ayyam, Sept. 30, 2001 Exhibit 51]

**Nabil Shaath, member of Fatah Central Committee: Arafat needed second Intifada**

*Excerpt from PA TV four-part documentary on Arafat, Part 4: "The Besieged President"*

**Narrator:** "The Camp David Summit [in 2000] failed, and [US President Bill] Clinton held Arafat responsible for the failure. This was a prelude to very grave events: [Israeli Parliament Member] Ariel Sharon invaded the Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem (i.e., the Temple Mount), and the second Intifada, known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, broke out on Sept. 28, 2000 as a direct response to this invasion. However, it was also an outburst against Israel's insistence over the years on suppressing the Palestinians and (speech unclear) their National Authority."

**Nabil Shaath, member of the PA negotiating team: "[Arafat] saw that repeating the first Intifada in new forms, would bring the necessary popular, international, and**



**Arab pressure upon Israel**, because it was already impossible to continue denying our right in Jerusalem and the right of the refugees, which are the two main topics [of conflict]."

[PA TV (Fatah), Nov. 13, 2011 Exhibit 1 - DVD]

PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas has on different occasions stated how the PA "tried military action during the second Intifada":

"[Mahmoud Abbas] emphasized that he supports the options that the Arabs will choose, and added: 'I have said more than once that if the Arabs want war - we are with them. I cannot fight alone. **We tried military action during the second Intifada** and during the attack on Gaza at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, after the [Hamas] refusal to renew the ceasefire, **and it brought destruction upon us**. 25% of the homes in Gaza are still in ruins.' He noted that he opposes military action and that he believes that popular operations resisting settlement and the [security] fence lead to clear positive results for the Palestinian cause. He noted that 50% of the participants in these demonstrations are Israelis, while 25% are foreigners. He added: 'We are determined to continue this activity, and we do not wish to turn to armed struggle, because our capabilities and the international atmosphere do not allow for it.'"

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Jan. 24, 2011 Exhibit 52]]

**Mahmoud Abbas:**

**"We tried the Intifada in 2000, and it destroyed everything that we had built.** If the Arabs would want to fight, we'd be the first to fight. I told them at the [Arab] Summit in Sirt [Libya]: 'If you want war, take the lead.' It's not possible for us [Palestinians] to go ahead alone; they must be first, with us behind them. We shall not permit them to fight using us. One of them [Arab leaders] spoke about resistance. I said to him, 'The Palestinian people is not interested in resistance. We, as the [Palestinian] Authority, are not interested in resistance, Hamas has abandoned resistance, they are preventing [launch of] rockets and they speak of a *tahadiyeh* [ceasefire]. Therefore, if he [the Arab leader] is interested in resistance, let him carry it out himself. Nothing is easier than raising a banner [that says], 'Forward, men!' And half an hour later we'll get a slap in the face and find ourselves on the floor. It's not possible for a responsible person to behave this way."

[*Al-Ayyam*, Sept. 6, 2010 Exhibit 53]

**Conclusion**

There is significant evidence that Arafat and the PA initiated, directed and controlled the terror campaign starting in Oct. 2000.



The PA actively promoted terror and killing of Israelis through the structures under the PA's control. PA-owned official TV was used repeatedly to call for killing Jews in the name of Islam. Then as now, PA TV was the official PA mouthpiece and controlled by the PA leadership.

The PA's response to terror and killing, its active glorification and the honor it bestowed on those who succeeded in killing Israelis, including suicide bombers, is ample evidence of its support for the killings. In addition it gave a direct and unequivocal message of support for murder to the people, making it clear that killing was seen by the leadership as a national duty.

The PA leaders actively gave their stamp of approval for murders that were committed by all the various terror organizations as has been shown here in examples of tournaments named after terrorists who killed Israelis. Terrorists involved in some of the terror attacks that injured plaintiffs in this case and murdered family members of other plaintiffs were likewise honored by the PA, including Ahmad Barghouti, Qahira Al-Sa'adi, Sanna Shehadeh, Nasser Al-Shawish, Ibrahim Hamed, Abdallah Barghouti, who between them are serving 126 life sentences for their many murders. In addition, 2 suicide bombers Ali Jaareh and Wafi Idris connected to this case were also glorified by the Palestinian Authority.

The Palestinian Authority policy led by the leaders of glorifying terrorist murderers, and adding terrorist prisoners to the PA payroll to receive monthly salaries reflects the honor and esteem that the PA sees in killers of Israelis.

The sermons inciting murder and genocide preached on official PA TV by PA clerics, the public honoring of suicide bombers like Idris by official PA TV and Fatah, sporting events held by the PA Ministry of Education glorifying terrorists like Udeh who killed 31 (just as a few examples) all evidence the PA's direct support for and encouragement of terrorism throughout the period of the terror campaign, which includes the periods of all the terror attacks relevant to this case.

More evidence that Arafat and the PA were actively directing the terror war is found in the testimonies of PA leaders themselves, both during the campaign and since its conclusion, as was cited above.

Abbas admitted "we ordered them... to kill" and Abbas's advisor al-Einein said Arafat "condemned" and "financed" the very same suicide bombings.

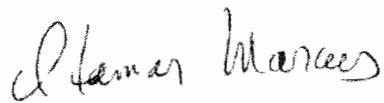
The PA had total control over the media through ownership and intimidation and the PA media, the religious establishment, and the PA TV video clips all incited to murder during the years of the terror campaign. Those who followed the PA orders and killed Israelis were honored and glorified as heroes. And those who were imprisoned by Israel for murder, Abbas says must be released – because they are people "who did what we, we, ordered them to do. We - the [Palestinian] Authority."

Most significantly, the Palestinian terrorists saw themselves as fulfilling the instructions of the leadership. The people who killed felt they were participating in a national fight under orders of the PA leaders. As PA Chairman Abbas explained: the prisoners have to be freed or they will complain to the leaders of the PA: "You ordered me - you are responsible for me."

The PA's public actions and statements inciting terrorism against Israelis and Jews described in detail herein refute the claim that it was genuinely attempting to combat terrorism.

The Palestinian Authority bears overall responsibility for the violence and killings of the intifada in general and every particular act of killing in particular. Had the PA leaders not wanted a violent terror campaign; had the PA leaders not instructed the masses to kill; and had the PA leaders not supported and glorified the killers, there would never have been a violent terror campaign that killed over 1200 Israelis called 'the intifada'.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Itamar Marcus". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Itamar Marcus March 22, 2013